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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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Vol. 68  
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Fall 1973

Sir George Calvert's Resignation as  
Secretary of State and the Founding of  
Maryland

John D. Krugler

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The New Bremen Glass Manufactory  
Dwight D. Oland

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The Bituminous Coal Lobby and the  
Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894

John Alexander Williams

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The Cohen Brothers of Baltimore: from  
Lotteries to Banking

W. Ray Luce

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Sir George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore

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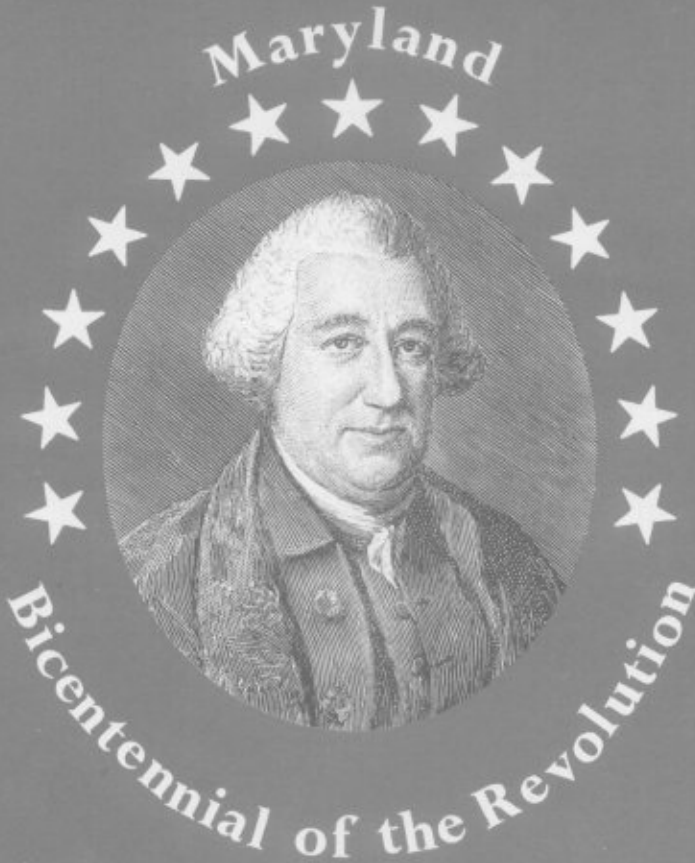
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# MARYLAND

## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

John Hanson 1721-1783



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MARYLAND  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## Sir George Calvert's Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland

JOHN D. KRUGLER\*

AFTER SIX YEARS of service to King James I as one of the principal secretaries of state, Sir George Calvert in February 1625 resigned his position and withdrew from politics. At about the same time, although ostensibly a member in good standing of the Church of England, Calvert declared his allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith. This action influenced profoundly the subsequent history of the Maryland colony which the Calvert family was to found in 1633. Had the proprietors not been Catholic, the development of that colony would have been altered drastically; but more importantly, it is after his "conversion" to that outlawed faith and his forced resignation that Calvert supposedly conceived the notion of a colony based on religious freedom and historians have, in the main, interpreted the early history of Maryland as the implementation of that idea.<sup>1</sup>

At least three interpretations of the significance of George Calvert's declaration that he was a Roman Catholic and of his resignation can be discerned. The first

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\* The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the late Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois for all of his efforts on the author's behalf.

<sup>1</sup> Most recently Thomas O'Brien Hanley, *Their Rights & Liberties: The Beginnings of Religious & Political Freedom in Maryland* (Westminister, Md., 1959), p. 64 and *passim*. See also Charles McLean Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols.; New Haven, 1934-1938), II, p. 279.

interpretation contends that Calvert was a Roman Catholic and that his "conversion" in 1624 or 1625 was little more than an open acknowledgement of the fact. In accounts of this period, historians investigating English politics have charged that Calvert was secretly a Papist and some have asserted that he was a Spanish spy operating in the inner circles of James's government, and therefore attach little or no significance to the events of early 1625.<sup>2</sup>

A second interpretation, long argued by historians of Maryland, is that Calvert underwent a conversion experience in late 1624 or early 1625 and became a Roman Catholic with the result that he was forced to withdraw from politics. Despite obvious weaknesses, this interpretation, which contends that Calvert rose to the highest position of trust "by sheer force of merit; and then, having reached ambition's summit, he voluntarily resigned all for conscience's sake . . .," continues to linger.<sup>3</sup> Matthew Page Andrews in 1933 put it this way: "This change of spiritual allegiance caused him to resign his high office and greatly strengthened his desire to found a successful settlement in America" which was to be "the great experiment of establishing a refuge where all 'opinions' might worship in peace." Mrs. Arthur Barneveld Bibbins asserted that "Calvert had followed his convictions at the cost of place and power." A different twist was added by M. J. Masterson who argued that after receiving an estate in Ireland, Calvert closely identified with the Irish, became a Catholic, renounced his estate in County Langford and all his appointments and privileges. More recently, Thomas O'Brien Hanley wrote that Calvert's espousal of the Catholic religion made him "an alien on political shores so familiar to him from his long career in the service of James." Finally, G. E. Aylmer, a careful student of the English political scene, suggested that Calvert "may have resigned his Secretaryship of State in January 1625 because of conscientious scruples about concealing his conversion to Rome, or because at that date it would still have seemed unthinkable, to him and to others, that he should retain it, once he was suspected, or known in informed circles, to be a papist."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, 1955), pp. 223-224; D. Harris Willson, *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (Minneapolis, 1940), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> William T. Russell, *Maryland: The Land of Sanctuary* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 47. Russell epitomized the arguments of earlier historians of Maryland: cf. John Thomas Schaff, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1879), I, pp. 40-41; Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Sir George Calvert: Baron of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 167; William Hand Browne, *Maryland: The History of a Palatinate* (4th ed.; Boston, 1888), p. 17; Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (2nd ed.; Baltimore, 1904), p. 23; Bernard C. Steiner, "The First Lord Baltimore and His Colonial Projects," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905* (2 vols.; Washington, 1906), I, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 24; Bibbins, "The English Beginnings of Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVIII (Dec., 1933), p. 296; Masterson, "Baltimore," *Journal of the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society*, II (1942), p. 90; Hanley, *Rights & Liberties*, p. 61; and G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1642* (New York, 1961), pp. 144 and 110. Nathaniel C. Hale argued that Calvert "had become converted to Catholicism. . . . Now his position was so uncertain that James suffered him to resign to dispose of the Secretariate for a financial consideration." *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1606-1677* (Richmond, Va., 1951), p. 131.





George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore, By Daniel Mytens, 1625. *Collection of the Earl Verulam, Gorhamburg, St. Albans, Herts, England.*

This second interpretation that Calvert “proved an effective exponent of the royal policy in Parliament until his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1625 led to his resignation as secretary of state” is no longer viable.<sup>5</sup> Based on an incomplete understanding of the machinations of Stuart politics, it transposes cause and effect. Obviously Calvert’s open practice of the Catholic faith cannot be divorced from his resignation as one of the secretaries of state. However, the “conversion” did not, as has been argued, necessitate his resignation; rather the opposite is true. The third

<sup>5</sup> Allan M. Fraser, “Sir George Calvert” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (2 vols. to date; Toronto, 1966– ), I, p. 162.

interpretation, and the basis for this essay, is that Calvert, who had been reared a Catholic, reverted back to his childhood religion during a period of deep personal crisis brought about by his forced resignation from political office.

Of great bearing on Calvert's eventual "conversion" was his Roman Catholic background which, like so many of the pertinent facts of his life, remains shrouded in obscurity.<sup>6</sup> Although the exact date of his birth is not known, he was probably born around 1580, the son of Leonard and Alicia Calvert of Yorkshire. Whether Calvert was reared in the Church of England or the Roman Catholic cannot be determined with complete certainty.<sup>7</sup> In lieu of baptismal records, the evidence presented by Hugh Aveling, who examined the Yorkshire High Commission Act Books, sustains the supposition that Calvert was reared a Roman Catholic. Certainly his family suffered for its allegiance to that faith and from the time of George Calvert's birth was troubled by recusancy. In 1580 Yorkshire authorities put Leonard Calvert and his family on bond to conform themselves in matters of religion. Twelve years later the discovery of what appeared to be a Catholic school brought the Calverts to the attention of local authorities. Among the pupils at the school, where the master taught them a "popish primer," were George and Christopher Calvert. Again Leonard Calvert and his wife took bond that the family would conform to the established Church. To insure against a relapse, the Commission prohibited the family from engaging a Catholic schoolmaster, from having Catholic servants in the house and ordered Calvert to keep "no popish books or other trumpery or reliques of popery." Further, it ordered that within the month the elder Calvert purchase a Bible in English, a Book of Common Prayer and "Mr. Nowell's Catechism in English" and "one other booke as Calvin's Institucions, Dtor. Bilson booke, Ursinus Catechisme or D. Reynolds Conference with hart" which was "to ly open in his house for every one to read." Finally Calvert was instructed to send his sons to a Protestant tutor at York.<sup>8</sup> Leonard Calvert soon certified his full conformity by taking communion; but his wife refused and was committed to the "custody of the Pursuivant Southwood" in 1593.<sup>9</sup> Thus, at twelve years of age,

<sup>6</sup> Calvert lacks a modern biography. The best of the older biographies is William Hand Browne, *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert* (New York, 1890) but it suffers from the philo-pietistic mode of all Calvert biographies.

<sup>7</sup> Most Maryland historians did not know of Calvert's Catholic background or attached no particular significance to it. William E. Wilson admitted that Calvert's parents were possibly Roman Catholic but emphasized his Protestant education. "Maryland Their Maryland," *American Heritage*, XVIII (Aug., 1967), p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (London, 1966), pp. 176-177. Aveling abstracted the pertinent documents concerning the Calvert family from the Fact Books of the Yorkshire High Commission and communicated them to James W. Foster who published them as a supplement to his "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LV (Dec., 1960), pp. 272-274. The Commissioners also stipulated that if required, Calvert was to bring his children before the Commission "once a quarter to see how they perfect in learning."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273. As late as 1604 she had not conformed: "... wife of Leonard Calvert of Kipling, non-communicant at Easter last." Edward Peacock, *List of Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604* (London, 1872), p. 69.

George Calvert was undoubtedly brought into conformity with the Church of England. Whether or not this change was real or affected, his "conversion" in no way hampered his subsequent career as a politician and diplomat.<sup>10</sup> After studying for about two years with a Protestant tutor, young Calvert set off for Trinity College, where he became a commoner in the Lent Term, 1593–1594. Evidently by this time he was comfortable in the established Church for at the matriculation ceremony he took an oath to support the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>11</sup>

Calvert's slow but steady involvement in Stuart politics began when, on a tour of Europe following the awarding of his bachelor's degree in 1597, he met Sir Robert Cecil, soon to be the Marquis of Salisbury and a man of considerable political power. Cecil made Calvert one of his personal secretaries,<sup>12</sup> a position not without influence considering Cecil's role in the early years of James I. A succession of lesser offices followed. Under Cecil's patronage Calvert served as Clerk of the Crown and Assizes in County Clare, Ireland, as one of the clerks of the Privy Council, and as the king's agent on special missions to the Continent; he also served in parliament in 1609.<sup>13</sup> By 1612 Calvert was known to the king and he assisted him in researching and transcribing James's tract against the Dutch theologian, Conrad Vorstius.<sup>14</sup>

A painstaking, cautious and faithful servant, Calvert's rise was not impeded by Cecil's death in 1612. His work as clerk of the Council continued and, in the absence of a secretary of state (no replacement for Cecil having been named), answering the Spanish and Latin correspondence was entrusted to Calvert. He was part of a commission sent to Ireland in 1613 to examine Catholic grievances and complaints made against the Lord Deputy. A year later it was rumored that Calvert would replace Sir Dudley Carleton as Ambassador to the Hague, a position for which Calvert expressed little interest. Part of 1615 was spent serving his Majesty in Germany. After his return, the Privy Council appointed him one of the commissioners of Musters for the County of Middlesex.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Calvert's father seems to have come into full conformity and this perhaps explains George Calvert's acceptance of the Church of England. See Bromley Smith, "George Calvert at Oxford," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (June, 1931), pp. 269–270.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*; Bibbins, "The English Beginnings," p. 289.

<sup>12</sup> Calvert was one of eleven men who served Cecil as secretary between 1594 and 1612. He was described as a "non-specialist." Alan G. R. Smith, "The secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580–1612," *English Historical Review*, LXXXIII (July, 1968), p. 493.

<sup>13</sup> *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire* (19 parts to date; London, 1883– ), XVII, p. 584; *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I*, ed. C. W. Russell and John P. Prendergast (5 vols.; London, 1872–1880), 1603–1605, p. 515; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (4 vols.; London, 1858–1859), 1603–1610, p. 438. [Hereafter cited as *CSP, James I*.]

<sup>14</sup> That court gossip *par excellence*, John Chamberlain, reported that James "hath been very busie in writing somewhat in French against Vorstius. In this journey Colvert [sic] Clarke of the counsaile is settled about him, and whole employed in reading and writing." *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1939), I, p. 331. Calvert wrote to Cecil that he was busy in "writing out the discourse which the King began concerning Vorstius." *CSP, James I, 1611–1618*, p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> *The Court and Times of James the First*, ed. Thomas Birch (2 vols.; London, 1849), I, 134, 176;



James I. Library of Congress.

Recognition of Calvert's increasing stature in James's government came in 1617 when, in honor of the marriage of the brother of the Earl of Buckingham, the king conferred knighthood upon him. His highest advancement came a year and a half later when "Sir George Calvert, knight, was by his Majesty's speciall commaundment sworne one of his majesty's principall Secretaries of State." This honor came in spite of the fact that the newly created Marquis of Buckingham (George Villiers), the king's favorite, whose influence over James was increasing daily, would have preferred someone besides Calvert.<sup>16</sup> That Calvert was the king's choice is indicated by an incident related some years later by Thomas Fuller. "Conceiving the Duke

*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. John Roche Dasent *et al.* (44 vols. to date; London, 1890– ), 1613–1614, p. 188 [Hereafter cited *APC*]; *CSP, Ireland, 1611–1614*, pp. 436ff; *APC, 1615–1616*, p. 141; 1616–1617, p. 56; Chamberlain, *Letters*, I, pp. 503, 514. In 1616 James granted Calvert and another clerk £1000 "out of the checks in Ireland for reward of theyre service." *Ibid.*, II, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>Calvert replaced Sir Thomas Lake who had been dismissed largely because of his wife's indiscretions with state secrets. *CSP, James I, 1619–1623*, p. 14. Lake was rightly suspected of also being a Papist. His religion was noted in 1614 when the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar wrote that "Lac era católico...." *Correspondencia Oficial de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña Conde de Gondomar*, ed. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta (*Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España. . .* (4 vols.; Madrid, 1936–1945), III, p. 211. *APC, 1618–1619*, p. 373.

[sic] of Buckingham highly instrumental in his preferment, he [Calvert] presented him with a jewel of great value, which the Duke returned to him again, not owing any activity in his advancement, whom King James, *ex mero motu*, reflecting on his ability designed for the place." The king's motives, if Buckingham may be believed, were not flattering for Calvert. Buckingham reportedly declared in February 1619 that the choice of Calvert was "the King's own" and that "he would not have a more eminent man" for fear of reflecting on Secretary Robert Naunton.<sup>17</sup> Under these circumstances the secretaryship was a position which Calvert, although thoroughly familiar with the European situation, as well as domestic politics, accepted with reluctance.<sup>18</sup> And despite years of able service, Calvert would never improve significantly his standing with the favorite; hence, he always operated from a position of weakness.

As secretary, Calvert proved himself an assiduous and trusted servant, one on whom the king felt he could rely upon for delicate problems of state. Although occasionally called upon to give advice in important matters, his duties as secretary were those of an administrator rather than as a formulator of foreign policy. Accustomed to following orders, Calvert was careful to consult with his superiors before making crucial decisions and rarely, if ever, exercised independent judgment. His actions as secretary and as a member of the Privy Council indicated a zealous concern for the prerogatives of the crown.<sup>19</sup>

Calvert's most trying experiences came as the king's man in the parliament of 1621. Elected largely through the influence peddling of his close friend Sir Thomas Wentworth, Calvert's election from Yorkshire was challenged unsuccessfully in parliament.<sup>20</sup> Caught in a cross-fire between the desires of his sovereign and the rantings of an obstreperous parliament, which banished a lawyer named Shepard for ridiculing the Puritans by contending that the Sabbath was Saturday and for opposing a bill for restraining abuses of the Sabbath, Calvert had the unpleasant

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), "Yorkshire," p. 202; *CSP, James I, 1619-1623*, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> When Buckingham told Calvert of the king's resolution to appoint him, he replied "that he thought himself unworthy to sit in that place, so lately possessed by his noble lord and master [Cecil]." Whether genuinely concerned with his abilities, or feigning humility, James was "well pleased with his answer and modesty." *Court of James I*, ed. Birch, II, pp. 142-143.

<sup>19</sup> For the king's reliance on Calvert, see *The Fortesque Papers; Consisting Chiefly of Letters Relating to State Affairs* . . . , ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner (Westminster, 1871), pp. 187-188. As a councillor, see his letter to Buckingham, *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>20</sup> The correspondence published in *Chapters in the History of Yorkshire: Being a Collection of Original Letters, Papers, and Public Documents* . . . , ed. James F. Cartwright (Wakefield, Eng., 1872), pp. 199-204, 207-209 indicates the tactics used by Wentworth to affect the election. That Calvert's influence as secretary was a marketable commodity was indicated in Wentworth's letter to Sir Robert Askwith. In soliciting support Wentworth promised to introduce Askwith "to Mr. Secretary [to] not only procure you only Thanks from him, but that you shall hereafter find a readiness and cheerfulness to do you such good offices as shall lie in his way hereafter." *Papers Relating to Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford* . . . , ed. C. H. Firth, *The Camden Miscellany*, IX (Westminster, 1895), p. 2. The House contested Wentworth's election also. *Commons Debates 1621*, ed., Wallace Notestein, Francis Helen Relf and Hartley Simpson (7 vols.; New Haven, 1935), V, p. 45. In a letter to Buckingham Calvert gave the impression that only Wentworth's election was contested. *Fortesque Papers*, p. 150.

duty of presenting the king's case.<sup>21</sup> And in the judgment of D. H. Willson it was a role which Calvert, despite obvious limitations, played "with skill," rendering "better service in the lower house than any secretary of the period."<sup>22</sup> In the protracted struggle over subsidies, the Catholic question, the Spanish match and foreign policy in general, Calvert served as the king's mouthpiece by delivering letters from the king or by informing Commons what the king had directed him to say. From the opening of parliament when Secretary Calvert "made a speech for the supply of the king's wants, which was thought untimely," and for which he was censured by Commons, Calvert pressed home, in speech after speech, the king's wishes. Supporting James in his assertions of supremacy was no easy task and Calvert indicated his lack of success in moving Commons when, near the end of the session, he lamented to Buckingham that "wee find so little help in our house [i.e., Commons] on furtherance to bring to passe his Majesty's just and Princely ends. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

Calvert's career in parliament demonstrated the precarious position of a Stuart councillor.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand he endeavored to follow, to the best of his ability, James's instructions. But his efforts only brought distrust, for Commons suspected him of communicating intelligence of their proceedings to the king. At the same time his position with the king was never secure, largely, it is suspected, because Calvert was never fully accepted by the court favorite, Buckingham.<sup>25</sup> In addition, he lacked the personal prestige which would have permitted him to offer advice in statecraft which Privy Councillors originally were intended to supply. He was, after all, the king's creature, and he knew it. In a letter to Buckingham he recounted his obligation for "his Majesties infinite favor towards me in chusing me amongst so many of farre greater meritt to make me the subject of his power and of his goodnesse, by raying me to that which I am."<sup>26</sup> Of his influence the French Ambassador, Tillières, wrote (21 November 1621) that Calvert was "an honorable, sensible, well-minded man, courteous towards strangers, full of respect towards ambassadors,

<sup>21</sup> *Commons Debates 1621*, II, p. 82; IV, p. 53. *CSP, James I, 1619-1623*, p. 225. *Court of James I*, ed., Birch, II, p. 229.

<sup>22</sup> *Councillors*, p. 87. Cf. C. V. Wedgewood's terse comment about the lack of skillful leadership for the king's cause. *Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, 1593-1641: A Reevaluation* (New York, 1962), p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> *Court of James I*, ed. Birch, II, p. 221. The various records of the 1621 Commons debates published by Notestein *et al.*, give ample evidence of Calvert's role in parliament. Concerning his speaking for the king, Calvert wrote of a "letter of his Majesty's enclosed to myself directing me to say in the house. . . ." *Commons Debates*, VII, pp. 625; 621.

<sup>24</sup> See Wallace Notestein, *The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons* (London, 1924), pp. 27-29 and Robert Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 153-160.

<sup>25</sup> Archbishop George Abbot, no friend of Buckingham's, declared in 1627 that Buckingham "could endure no man that would not depend upon him. . . ." "The Sequestration of Archbishop Abbot from all his Ecclesiastical Offices, in 1627," *An English Garner: Stuart Tracts, 1603-1693*, ed., C. H. Firth (Westminster, 1903), p. 315. G. F. V. Akrigg errs in ascribing Calvert's rise to Buckingham. *Jacobean Pageant, or the Court of King James I* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 366. See note 17.

<sup>26</sup> *The Fortesque Papers*, p. 98.



Charles I. *Library of Congress.*

zealously intent upon the welfare of England; but by reason of all these good qualities, entirely without consideration or importance."<sup>27</sup>

The qualities delineated by Tillières may not have brought Calvert a great deal of power and recognition, but they did bring work. By far the more capable of the sec-

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<sup>27</sup> As quoted in Matthew Page Andrews, *Founding of Maryland*, Appendix I, p. 352. Andrews, following earlier historians of Maryland, interpreted the ambassador's statement to mean that the Secretary could not be influenced. A more realistic interpretation would be that Calvert was without influence.

retaries of state (his co-worker, Sir Robert Naunton, who fancied himself something of a literary man, had been suspended briefly and was replaced eventually),<sup>28</sup> Calvert assumed the duties of supervising James's foreign policy. With James fully supporting the Spanish match, Calvert as the leading secretary, served as James's embassy in many of the delicate negotiations for the proposed marriage between Charles Stuart and the Infanta Maria which was extremely unpopular with the English people who saw it as "the funeral of their religion."<sup>29</sup>

While the impetuous Prince and the foolish Buckingham journeyed to Spain to woo personally the Infanta, Calvert remained busy during the summer of 1623 with the details of the Spanish treaty, kept secret so as not to arouse the nation. His efforts culminated in July when he read the lengthy treaty in Latin to the Council after which James took an oath to observe all the articles agreed upon. Whatever sense of accomplishment Calvert might have felt was short-lived. The return of Charles and Buckingham in October without the Spanish Princess would set in motion a chain of events that for Calvert must have been unnerving.<sup>30</sup>

To have served a healthy King James was no pleasure; to have served, in the last years of his reign, this aging monarch, desperately afraid of death, must have been impossible. Power and policy slipped from the doting king as Buckingham and Charles now pursued, with the passion of jilted suitors, a policy hostile towards Spain. With the Spanish match thus scuttled, efforts were directed now at a match with the French princess, Henrietta Maria. Shrewd politicians, testing the wind, switched support to the French match; Calvert declined to do so with the result that he soon found himself without consideration in the Buckingham-Charles regency.<sup>31</sup>

Calvert's diminishing position can be seen in his relations with his co-secretary, Sir Edward Conway, who since his appointment in January 1623 had faithfully followed whatever policies Buckingham supported.<sup>32</sup> While the Spanish negotiations were still pending, relations between the two secretaries remained cordial, but by the end of 1623 they had deteriorated considerably as Conway, under Buckingham's

<sup>28</sup>Chamberlain, *Letters*, pp. 339, 359, 429. Florence M. Greir Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State. A Survey of the Office from 1558 to 1660* (Manchester, 1923), p. 75.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII* (3rd ed., 3 vols.; London, 1868), III, p. 344. Volumes III and IV of Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England From the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (10 vols.; London, 1896) remain the most complete account of the Spanish marriage.

<sup>30</sup>Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p. 510. John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First . . .* (4 vols.; London, 1828), IV, pp. 882, 904. D. Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1958). pp. 430-432.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 443. William McElwee, *The Wisest Fool in Christendom: The Reign of James I and VI* (New York, 1958). p. 275. Gardiner, *History of England*, V, p. 160.

<sup>32</sup>Chamberlain related to Sir Dudley Carleton that some said that Conway was chosen "for his courtship and curtesie in seeking to fasten the title of excellencie on the Lord Marquis." *Letters*, II, p. 474. Conway "owed his appointment to his abject fawning upon the favorite," Buckingham, Willson, *Councillors*, p. 94.





Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. *Library of Congress.*

patronage, began to usurp many of Calvert's duties as senior secretary. The Venetian ambassador noted that "This Conway constantly follows his Majesty and grows in favour daily. But the Spaniards hate him extremely, refuse to recognize him and only negotiate with the other secretary Calvert."<sup>33</sup> Noting that "Buckingham's freedom of speech with the king continues and even increases, even against the Spaniards" and that Charles "also seems to be rousing himself . . . against Spain" the Venetian Ambassador thought that it seemed "impossible that the state of affairs should not ultimately undergo a decisive change." And change they did. Calvert's last act with the majority of the Privy Council in favoring the Spanish match came in January 1624. There were, significantly, three directly opposed and four "newters" in contrast to the five votes in favor. However, in the next month at the urging of Charles and Buckingham, a parliament, certain to be anti-Spanish, convened. Calvert, as a representative of Oxford, witnessed the repudiation of the

<sup>33</sup> *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice . . .*, ed., Rawdon Brown, et al. (38 vols.; London, 1864–1947), 1623–1625, p. 106. Evans, *Principal Secretary*, p. 83.

Spanish treaty which he had labored to secure. From this point, Calvert supported a losing cause and, as a result, was forced to resign his office.<sup>34</sup>

The events leading to Calvert's resignation and withdrawal from public life, events which strongly suggest that he did not resign for religious martyrdom, can be traced in the correspondence of the time, especially in the letters of Dudley Carleton to his uncle, Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague, who coveted Calvert's secretaryship. The first inkling of resignation came during the first week of April 1624 when young Carleton reported to his uncle that Calvert was in poor health and was willing to resign his place upon reasonable terms to Sir Dudley. That health was not Calvert's major consideration was indicated later that month when Carleton wrote that Secretary Calvert was "on ill terms with the King and Prince" and was "called to account" for, of all things, detaining diplomatic letters at the request of the French Ambassador. As the incident was over a year old when the king called Calvert on the carpet, it is not unreasonable to see it as pressure, instigated by Buckingham, to force the secretary's resignation. Buckingham, who failed to get total support from Calvert over the French match, was reported as approving Calvert's proposed retirement. Calvert indicated he would accept retirement if he could do so without losing reputation and if there were some financial consideration for giving up an office said to be worth £2000 per year. It was suggested, in May 1624, that the secretaryship would be a bargain at £6000.<sup>35</sup>

That it was difficult for Calvert to accept the necessity of resignation can be seen in his reluctance to give up his office. Carleton reported to his uncle in June that ill health had not prompted Calvert's proposed resignation but the fear of being summarily replaced. Calvert delayed, choosing to wait and see how the Earl of Bristol fared. As Ambassador at the Court of Philip III, Bristol, who had labored passionately to bring off the Spanish match, quarreled with Buckingham in Spain and was summoned home to defend his actions. Writing his uncle, Carleton indicated that if Bristol stands, Calvert will not abandon his post. The king, and here again this was probably Buckingham's doing, appointed Calvert and Sir Richard Weston to draw up a set of questions to be asked of Bristol. Calvert's position was not made easier by the fact that Weston, who had been a forceful advocate of the match, had capitulated to Buckingham.<sup>36</sup> Calvert now faced a dilemma. He could not refuse the appointment without offending the king. Still, if he served, he could not deal leniently with his political ally Bristol and hope to avoid increased hostility from Buckingham, who was determined to humble the former ambassador to Spain. Setting up Bristol

<sup>34</sup> CSP, Venice, 1623-1625, p. 169. Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp. 542-543. *The Journals of the House of Commons* (220 vols to date; n.p., 1803- ), I, pp. 729, 750-751, 770. See also, Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 1971).

<sup>35</sup> CSP, James I, 1623-1625, pp. 208-298; 223, 231, 263. Carleton's efforts to secure the secretaryship are described by John H. Bancroft, "Carleton and Buckingham: The Quest for Office," *Early Stuart Studies: Essays in Honor of David Harris Willson*, ed., Howard S. Reinmuth, Jr. (Minneapolis, 1970) pp. 130-132.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271. Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First*, ed., John S. Brewer (2 vols. in 1; London, 1839), II, p. 400.



George Calvert, 1st Lord Baltimore. By Daniel Mytens, 1625. *Courtesy of the Enoch Pratt Free Library*, purchased in 1933 from the Collection of Sir Timothy Calvert Eden by Dr. Hugh Young who presented the portrait to the people of Maryland.

for the kill was equally reprehensible for it meant Calvert would have to repudiate the position for which he had labored so strenuously. The report of this commission is no longer extant, but was probably of no consequence as Bristol had been prejudged. His banishment from court must have made it clear to Calvert that his own position was extremely vulnerable.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Wilhelm, *Sir George Calvert*, pp. 106–107. For Bristol, see *The Earl of Bristol's Defence of his Negotiations in Spain*, ed., Samuel R. Gardiner, *The Camden Miscellany*, Volume the Sixth (Westminster, 1871).

By now Calvert's work as secretary had dwindled considerably. In August Chamberlain reported to Carleton that "Secretarie Colvert [sic] droupes and kepes out of the way. It was reported last weeke the seales were taken from him, but I heare it not confirmed." Rumors of Calvert's resignation continued through November, when it was reported that Calvert was reconciled to Buckingham, who assured him that he (Calvert) should have the option of refusing any offer made for his place.<sup>38</sup> Calvert finally resigned in February 1625 when Sir Albert Morton, in consideration of £3000, had the seals delivered to him. Calvert seems to have made the bargain he wanted, financial remuneration and retirement with honor. As Lord Carew wrote to Sir Thomas Roe: "Sir George Calvert is removed from his place as secretary; but yet without disgrace; for the king hath created him baron of Baltimore in Ireland, and remaynes a counsellor."<sup>39</sup>

It was not until later in February that anyone, as far as can be determined, linked Calvert and Catholicism. At that time Chamberlain reported that "Sir George Calvert or Lord Baltimore which is now his title is gon into the North with Sir Tobie Mathew which confirms the opinion that he is a bird of that feather." By this Chamberlain probably meant that Calvert had recently acknowledged himself a Catholic.<sup>40</sup> Sir Tobie Mathew (1577-1655), the eldest son of the Archbishop of York and an intimate of Sir Francis Bacon, had been knighted in 1623 ("for what service God knowes," as Chamberlain put it) no doubt for his ardent support of the Spanish marriage. He was a Jesuit. It may be that Sir Tobie, whose proselytizing zeal can be seen in his effort to convert his father, the Archbishop, to the Roman Church, brought Calvert back to the Catholic faith.<sup>41</sup>

That Calvert's embracing of the Roman Catholic religion caused his resignation as secretary is doubtful. It is evident that Calvert's contemporaries attributed his resignation to Buckingham's hostility and to the general purge of all who favored the now discredited Spanish policy James had pursued. Zuane Pesaro, the Venetian Ambassador, wrote that Calvert "to avoid a greater storm has saved himself by yielding up his post." And Pesaro's successor recalled, in 1627, that Calvert "being an acute man foresaw the duke's [Buckingham's] vexations on his return from Spain," resigned and withdrew from Court.<sup>42</sup> A fellow Councillor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Sir Thomas Roe that "Mr. secretary Calvert hath never

<sup>38</sup> Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp. 575, 585, *CSP, James I, 1623-1625*, p. 390.

<sup>39</sup> Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, p. 600. Chamberlain noted that Calvert was "to have as much more somewhere" that is, another £3000, "besides an Irish baronie for himself, or where he list to bestow it for his benefit." This letter summarized in *CSP, James I, 1623-1625*, p. 472 incorrectly gives the sum of £6000, an error frequently repeated. *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe . . . Containing a Great Variety of curious and important Matters . . .* (London, 1740), p. 369. *APC, 1623-1625*, p. 453. Akrigg asserted that the price was considered very low and James compensated Calvert by throwing in the Irish barony. *Jacobean Pageant*, p. 170.

<sup>40</sup> Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, pp. 603; 518.

<sup>41</sup> Sir Tobie's biographers make this claim for their subject. Arnold Harris Mathew and Annette Calthrop, *The Life of Sir Tobie Mathew: Bacon's Alter Ego* (London, 1907), p. 290. Cf. C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period*, II, p. 276.

<sup>42</sup> *CSP, Venice, 1623-1625*, p. 568. 1626-1628, p. 147.



Charles I. *Library of Congress.*

looked merily since the prince his coming out of Spaine: it was thought that hee was much interested in the Spanishe affaires: a course was taken to ridde him of all imployment and negotiations. This made him discontented; and, as the saying is, *Desperatio facit marachum*, so apparently did turne papist. . . ."<sup>43</sup> Indeed, in all the speculation which preceded the Secretary's reluctant resignation, no one seemed to suggest that Calvert was, or was about to become, a Catholic. Not even the parliament of 1624 which listed all suspected Papists in offices of trust (and it did not take much to arouse parliament's suspicion) seemed to have suspected the Secretary.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike so many of his Puritan contemporaries, George Calvert did not deem it necessary to record the intimate details of his religious experiences and the workings of his inner mind. Having no direct clue as to why Calvert chose to acknowledge his loyalty to the Catholic Church, circumstantial evidence must be utilized to suggest his motivation. It is clear that Calvert's resignation was only indirectly concerned with religion. The evidence strongly suggests that Calvert was removed for political considerations, not religious. On balance, his religious loyalties, whether to the state church or the proscribed Catholic Church, were a matter of little consequence.

<sup>43</sup> *Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 372.

<sup>44</sup> *Commons Journals*, I, p. 776.

Calvert continued to support the Spanish match when it was no longer politically expedient to do so; Buckingham and Charles craved the French alliance and those who refused to follow suit were *persona non grata*. As demonstrated, Calvert relinquished his post unwillingly, almost under duress. From contemporary descriptions, the turn of events depressed Calvert. For a man who had devoted his entire life to the King's service, only to find himself summarily dropped, it must have been a jolting experience. It is possible that Calvert had been wavering for some time in his religion when the presence of his proselytizing friend of school days, Sir Tobie Mathew, was sufficient at this time of moral crisis, to bring him back to the Roman fold. If, indeed, he were wavering in his religion, his appointment late in January 1625 to a commission which was "to examine parties charged with errors in matters of faith, tending to schism against the established church, who refused to have their children baptized or allowed that ceremony to be performed by a Jesuit or a popish priest or were guilty of any offense against the established church" probably hastened his decision.<sup>45</sup>

The origins of Maryland can be traced to George Calvert's resignation as Secretary of State only in the most circuitous manner. It is probable that had Calvert still been in office in 1632, and indeed he probably would have been had Prince Charles married the Infanta, he would have never sought the Maryland charter. The argument that Maryland was founded because Calvert openly professed himself a Catholic and was forced to resign his political office on this account, however, does not square with the evidence. Calvert supported a losing cause, not a Catholic one as such but the Spanish marriage, and lost. Whatever Calvert's motives were in seeking to found a colony in the New World, they were not the direct result of his resignation, a resignation forced for political considerations and not religious.

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<sup>45</sup> Wilhelm, *Sir George Calvert*, pp. 109-110.

# The New Bremen Glass Manufactory

DWIGHT D. OLAND

IN THE EARLY part of 1785 one of the largest American industrial settlements of that time was established in Frederick County, Maryland. This settlement included three glasshouses, at least one sawmill, possibly several gristmills, and the homes of three to four hundred people. Johann Frederick Amelung, a German immigrant, was the founder and supervisor of this industrial complex.

Benjamin Crocket, a prominent merchant and shipowner of Baltimore, who visited Bremen, Germany, in 1784, became acquainted with Amelung, the manager of a glasshouse in Bohemia. After Crocket learned of Amelung's desire to establish a glass manufactory in the United States, he encouraged him to undertake such a venture. Telling Amelung of the exceptional advantages that the state of Maryland had to offer for such an enterprise, Crocket persuaded him to choose Maryland as the location for the project. Messrs. Keener and Mercer, agents chosen by Amelung, were assigned to locate a suitable site there where glass could be manufactured. After due investigation, they recommended land in the southeastern part of Frederick County.<sup>1</sup>

Little is known of Amelung's background in Bremen. No evidence can be found in any of his papers or those of his son that he possessed personal wealth or social prominence, despite the fact that his financial affairs are dealt with to a great extent.<sup>2</sup> He and his brothers are thought to have operated one or more glasshouses in Bohemia; and being managers rather than artisans, they did no actual work with glass.<sup>3</sup>

Being in no position to provide the capital for the venture, Amelung approached several large "capital houses" in Bremen. He persuaded them to subscribe £10,000 toward the establishment of a "Glass-House in some convenient part of the United States."<sup>4</sup> Exactly where he obtained the rest of the capital is not known. Most assuredly money was secured from other sources, since the cost of the enterprise reached £20,000 during the first five years. From the statements of Amelung's son it is known that Amelung's wife and her sister contributed \$2,500. Frau Amelung and her sister, Frau Grienpenkel, having inherited land in Germany, sold it in order to finance the

<sup>1</sup> Julia von H. Kalkman, "Mountevina—The Home of John Frederick Amelung" (unpublished paper, Frederick Historical Society, Nov. 27, 1895).

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLIII (Sept. 1948), p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Note of Harriet N. Milford, no date, Milford Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>4</sup> "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 59.

trip to America. Probably they had contracted with Amelung for reimbursement with land of equal value in the United States. Thus, the Amelung family considered Frau Amelung and Frau Grienpenkel to be the real owners of the land on which the glass manufactory was established.<sup>5</sup>

Because of the nature of his enterprise, Amelung was destined to come into conflict with Great Britain. After the Revolutionary War the colonies had virtually no industrial independence, for there had been no large industries in the colonies.<sup>6</sup> England hoped to keep her monopoly on the American glass market,<sup>7</sup> because lack of competition enabled English glass imports (window glass, mirrors, goblets, and glassware) to demand high prices in the states.<sup>8</sup> The establishment of a glass manufactory such as Amelung proposed would be a definite threat to the English market for glass in America.

Amelung recruited experienced artisans from Bohemia and Thuringia, the areas where the German glass industry flourished, who sailed to Maryland with him in 1784. According to Amelung, England, upon hearing of his plan, attempted to interfere with his recruitment of artisans. When this failed, England attempted to prevent the artisans from reaching the port of Bremen and thus from setting sail with Amelung for America.<sup>9</sup> Since England exerted financial influence over the German states of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse, it received their assistance in the attempt to deter the artisans from reaching the port.<sup>10</sup> As a result, many artisans were forced to turn back. Those who reached Bremen with their families did so by taking indirect routes.<sup>11</sup> Because Amelung believed that British naval vessels and merchantmen planned to intercept his ship, the *Fame*, on the high seas, he was forced to sail prior to the scheduled departure date. Consequently, a score of artisans did not reach Bremen in time and were left behind.<sup>12</sup>

The *Fame* docked in Baltimore on August 31, 1784 after a one-hundred-day voyage. Along with Amelung were his wife, four children, his wife's unmarried sister, sixty-eight craftsmen from Bohemia and Thuringia, a Lutheran minister, a physician, teachers, and musicians, as well as machinery for making glass. In late November an agent and fourteen glass workers, who had made their way from Bohemia to Amsterdam, arrived. It seemed that Amelung was well on his way to achieving his goals of transplanting an ideal colony from Germany and creating a glass product more perfect than the glass of Venice or Bohemia.

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<sup>5</sup> Quynn, "Amelung at New Bremen," p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Kennard Weddell, "The Amelung Saga" (unpublished paper, Frederick Historical Society).

<sup>7</sup> W. Harry Haller, Jr., "Frederick County's Old Glass Workers," *Sun Magazine* (Baltimore), March 19, 1933.

<sup>8</sup> Weddell, "Saga."

<sup>9</sup> John Frederick Amelung, "Remarks on Manufactures, Principally on the New Established Glass-House, near Fredericktown, in the State of Maryland," quoted in George S. McKearin and Helen McKearin, *American Glass* (New York, 1948), p. 101.

<sup>10</sup> Weddell, "Saga."

<sup>11</sup> Amelung, "Remarks on Manufactures," in McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 101.

<sup>12</sup> Weddell, "Saga."





Silhouette of Amelung Family: Family of John Frederick Amelung. Lent for the 1952 Exhibition by Mrs. Ernest Kemp.

With the assistance of Charles Carroll the exact site of the manufactory was located and purchased. It encompassed 3,000 acres on Bennett's Creek where it flowed into the Monocacy River, well above the head of navigation. It lay on both sides of Bennett's Creek from a point northeast of Sugarloaf Mountain to a point south of present-day Park Mills on the west. This site was chosen because of resources located either on the site or in the immediate vicinity: the creek bed contained silica required in glassmaking; nearby forests provided timber for the construction of the manufactory and homes as well as fuel for the glass ovens; nearby deposits of clay assured sufficient ingredients for making clay pots used in the glass ovens; fertile soil allowed for the growing of crops; and a constant water supply provided the final necessity for the manufactory.

Shortly after his arrival, Amelung ordered a survey to be conducted to locate additional vacant land. Three hundred and twenty-four acres were added by purchase from the State of Maryland for seven pounds ten shillings.<sup>13</sup> Amelung's party immediately began the construction of the industrial settlement. Houses for 135 inhabitants were erected on the surrounding hillsides, and the first glass oven was built for the manufacture of bottles, window glass, and flint glass. In February, 1785 the first glass manufactory in Maryland began operation.<sup>14</sup> This self-contained community possessed all the essentials for what was considered comfortable living with the exception of a general store, the nearest one being ten miles away in Fredericktown (Frederick).

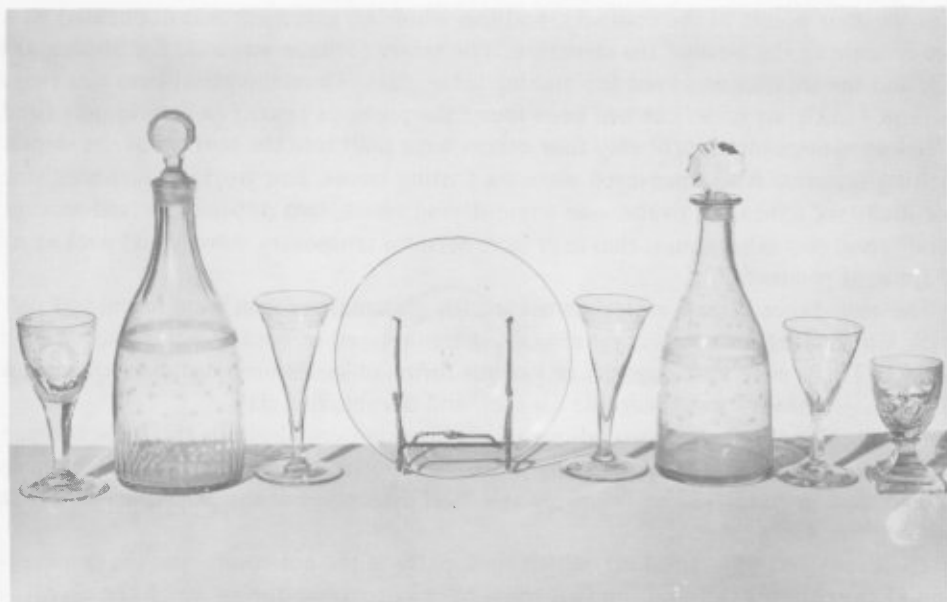
Once established, Amelung encouraged other skilled workers to immigrate from Germany. Blacksmiths, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, teachers, and probably other workers were imported. In October, 1785 Amelung wrote that he was establishing English and German schools for the children, and that more workers were expected from Germany.<sup>15</sup> One thousand more acres were purchased, and a second glasshouse was erected.<sup>16</sup> Concerning the financial situation, Amelung wrote, "If a moderate

<sup>13</sup> Quynn, "Amelung at New Bremen," p. 159.

<sup>14</sup> "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 59.

<sup>15</sup> Amelung, "Remarks on Manufactures," in McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Amelung, notes appended to "Remarks on Manufactures," 1790, in McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 102.



Ernest W. Kemp Collection of Amelung Glass. *Maryland Historical Society*.

sors took place. Because the land was wilderness before the construction and operation of the glassworks, the excavators were almost certain that their investigation would lead to specimens that were manufactured locally.

The remains of an intricate glassmaking operation were found as a result of the first excavation. The skillfully constructed stone structure that was uncovered in 1962 possessed the dimensions of 52 feet by 43 feet, having walls that reached a thickness of three feet in some areas. The excavators concluded that this was one of the major units of the thirty mentioned by Amelung. Because pieces of glass and clay ovens were found in the masonry, they surmised that this part of the glassmaking operation was built after the construction of the initial factory. This finding was supported by the fact that there was a severe fire which would have created the necessity of further construction. The archaeologists set a possible date of 1787 as the time of the building's erection.<sup>26</sup>

The second excavation was completed on October 18, 1963, after ten days of extensive investigation of the previously excavated area. A fritting furnace, where the ingredients for making glass were calcined or partly fused, was uncovered and proven to be of a size and type never before found in America. Two glassmaking furnaces and several subordinate structures proved the manufactory to be a large industrial operation. The structure consisted of a melting furnace with secondary units around

<sup>26</sup> The Corning Museum of Glass Press Release, "Archaeology Sheds New Light on American Glass," Oct. 24, 1962 (Corning, New York, 1962), pp. 1-2.

it at the four points of the compass, and this whole arrangement was duplicated on a larger scale to the west of the structure. The larger furnace was used for bottlemaking, and the smaller was used for making table glass. Thus, the glasshouse was twice as large (112'9" by 65'9") as had been found the previous year. Ten individually fired ovens were discovered; probably four others were built into the corners of the largest melting furnace. Also uncovered were six fritting ovens, two working furnaces, one pot arch, six annealing ovens, one wood-drying room, two pot-making and storage rooms, and two other rooms that may have been for temporary storage and packaging of finished products.<sup>27</sup>

The abundance of raw materials needed for glassmaking that were found in Frederick County helped to insure that glass manufactured at New Bremen was of high quality. There were vast deposits of various forms of sandstone, sufficient quantities of silica, abundant forests suitable for fuel, and durable fire clay.

The exact methods and procedures of glassmaking employed at the New Bremen plant cannot be ascertained. Amelung probably followed the same German techniques he had used previously. The following is a brief discussion of the probable manner in which glass was produced.<sup>28</sup>

The first step in glassmaking, which took place in the pot-room, was the construction of the clay pots. Requiring two years of construction, during which the clay was set and aged so as not to contaminate the molten glass, a pot for bottle glass would last only a few months, and a pot for flint glass would last only about ten months. Constant use and the firing-cooling effect of the ovens caused rapid deterioration of the pots. Amelung must have brought a supply of clay pots from Bremen, for the manufacture of glass commenced several months after the arrival of his group in Maryland.

Furnaces varied according to the function they served. Three days of blast were required for the flint glass furnace to have the raw materials fused and ready for the artisans, whereas only sixteen to thirty-six hours were needed for bottle glass ingredients to be sufficiently melted. The fuel used for the glass furnaces was probably mixed with rosin, which was the fuel then prevalent.

The basic materials used for the manufacture of glass were lime, silica, soda or potash, and cullet (broken glass). In order to weaken the greenish tint caused by particles of iron in the sand or to add color to the glass, slight amounts of arsenic, manganese, cobalt, or other chemicals were added. The ingredients were hand-mixed, and then melted in clay pots placed alongside the inside wall of the main furnace. The furnace was then fueled and fired. After the materials fused, more of the same materials were added and fused also. The batch was then exposed to an even heat and refined. The refinement took place when the impurities that had drifted to the top

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<sup>27</sup> Ivor Noel Hume, "The Search for New Bremen and the Glass of John Frederick Amelung," *Antiques*, LXXXV (March, 1964), p. 311.

<sup>28</sup> Information in the following paragraphs is from "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (March, 1948), pp. 44–45.



Walter W. Kohn, A. Konig, and the "J. Amelung" goblets. *Maryland Historical Society.*

of the melt were scooped off. When the glass was brought to a slow-flowing constituency, it was then ready to be worked by the artisans.

Two methods of making window glass were employed in Europe at this time, and Amelung used both of them because reference is found in the Davidson account books<sup>29</sup> as to the sale of both crown and cylinder window glass manufactured by Amelung. To make crown glass an artisan, known as a "gatherer," collected metal from a pot using the end of a blowpipe (a strong iron tube). He then rolled or "marvered" it on a block of marble or wood until it was the desired shape. The blower then blew the mass into a large globe. A solid iron rod, known as the "pontil" or "pundy," was then attached at the opposite center by a helper. After the blowpipe was cracked away, another artisan twisted the pontil so that the bowl opened out to form a flat plate. After the pontil was broken off, there remained in the center a thick, rugged bull's eye from which the crown glass derived its name.

In the process of making cylinder or sheet glass, the gathering and marvering were performed in the same way as they were in the making of crown glass. However, the artisan then blew a large cylinder instead of a globe. The cylinder was then reheated at the furnace in order to have the air pressure increase inside so that the heated end would blow open. A pipe was attached to the other end, and the blowpipe end was broken off by encircling it with a thread of hot glass cooled by a few drops of water. The cylinder was then slit with a knife, either having a diamond point or being red-hot. After being placed in a flattening oven, the cylinder of glass was gradually unfolded and smoothed by an artisan using a small block of charred wood attached to the end of an iron rod.

Several factors caused cylinder glass to be more in demand at the time of the New

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<sup>29</sup> Davidson was a Baltimore merchant who bought, sold, and shipped Amelung glass. *Maryland Historical Society, Manuscripts Division, Davidson Accounts Books, 1780-1805.*

Bremen operation, despite the fact that it possessed a less brilliant finish than did the crown glass, due to the charred wooden block used in flattening it before it hardened. Crown glass was the more expensive of the two types to manufacture. Cylinder glass produced less waste when cut into windowpanes because it lacked the bull's eye of the crown glass. Thus, larger pieces of glass could be obtained from the cylinder type. In addition, light came thorough cylinder glass with less distortion because the thickness of the glass was more uniform than in the crown glass.

The making of bottles<sup>30</sup> required less skill of the artisans than did the making of crown or cylinder glass. Sets of five workers were used to complete the process. Each set included a gatherer, blower, finisher, wetter-offer, and taker-in. The first three were artisans, and the latter two were apprentices. At first the gatherer began shaping the glass. He removed a suitable amount of glass from the furnace pots using the end of a blow pipe, which varied in size according to the nature of the bottle being produced. The mass was transferred to a tub of water where, by sloping and rotating it, the glass was caused to run to form a pear-shape. The gatherer handed it to the blower, who shaped the gathering of glass by marvering it (rolling it on a large flat stone), and blew the hot glass into a hollow bulb or global shape, known as a "parison." Skill was required in making the parison because different types of bottles needed different thicknesses in different areas. This was a lengthy process, being interrupted at intervals when the bottom of the parison was flattened and its length was adjusted to the size of the desired product. Then the bottle was blown to its exact size and shape in the mold, and removed. The mouth of the bottle was formed by hand tools; a pontil was stuck to the center of the base of the bottle, allowing the artisan to manipulate it during this finishing process. The blower gave it to the wetter-offer, the first apprentice, who removed the blown glass from the blowpipe and applied water until the glass was solid or "set." The bottle was then given to the finisher, who cut the neck with a small ring of glass and smoothed the bottom. The finished bottle was erected on a stand, and then taken to the kiln on the end of a long iron fork by the taker-in, the second apprentice. It would remain in the kiln until removed for shipping.

Engraving<sup>31</sup> on the presentation pieces made at the New Bremen manufactory was done with a copper wheel. Highly skilled artisans were required to perform the task. Various sizes of copper wheels, from one-eighth of an inch to two inches in diameter, were employed. The motive power was provided by a foot treadle, and emery or pumice mixed with oil or water constituted the abrasive agent. During the engraving process, the glass was held under the wheel in a way such that the engraver's view of it at the point of contact was obscured by the wheel and the abrasive agent dripping on the wheel. The artisan had to use the best suited wheel at the most appropriate time in order to obtain the correct gradation necessary to achieve perfection in engraving.

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<sup>30</sup> Information in the following paragraph is from "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (March, 1948), p. 46, and Haller, "Old Glass Workers."

<sup>31</sup> Information in the following paragraph is from McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 32.

Copper wheel engraving was mainly used at New Bremen, however, enameling<sup>32</sup> and pattern molding<sup>33</sup> may have been employed on the more inexpensive pieces of glass. Amelung is thought to have been an individualist who attempted never to have two pieces of glass alike. The same ornamentation of scrolls, foliage, and florets is found in all of his engraved designs, but no design was ever duplicated.<sup>34</sup>

Amelung was aware of the value of publicity to the success of his venture. He submitted lengthy advertisements in *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* from time to time. The following is one such advertisement:

*Glass Manufactory.*

A Company of GERMAN MANUFACTURERS, being lately arrived in the State of Maryland, and having made a plan of establishing a compleat GLASS MANUFACTORY, in the United States of America, the present is to inform the Public, that said Glass-Manufactory will consist in making all kinds of Glass-Wares, viz. Window Glass, from the lowest to the finest sorts, white and green Bottles, Wine and other Drinking-Glasses, of also Optical Glasses, and Looking-Glass, finished compleat.

In the accomplishing of this plan, a beginning is already made, by having acquired a considerable tract of land, situated on the River Monocacy, in Frederick County, near Frederick-Town, where, at present, buildings fit for that purpose, are erected, and Window-Glasses of two sorts, as also green and white hollow ware, are actually prepared.

As there is not the least doubt said plan will arrive in a short time to its full perfection, if assisted by the lawful power of the United States of America, and by means of the good advices of some gentlemen of this Country, the Public may be assured that what kind of Glass soever they may be in want of, their commissions given for them will be executed to their satisfaction, and afforded at the most reasonable prices.—In case any able Glass-Makers are willing to engage themselves at this new growing and truly large and extensive Fabrick, on reasonable conditions, may find employment.—All persons wishing to direct their orders to the Managers, are requested to direct them to the care of Messrs. Ludlow and Gould, New York, Messrs. Cox and Frazier, Philadelphia, Messrs. Crocketts and Harris, and Melcher Keener, Baltimore, Abraham Faw, Frederick-Town, or to

JOHN FREDERICK AMELUNG and CO.  
at the GLASS-WORKS.<sup>35</sup>

Feb. 9, 1785

Amelung also published tracts dealing with the subject of glassmaking. Likewise, his agents advertised in their respective regions mentioned in the above advertisement. That the market of the enterprise encompassed several states is evident. Various retailers also advertised Amelung's wares. From these primary sources one can ascer-

<sup>32</sup> Enameling is a process of decorating glass with enameled designs. Enamel ingredients had to fuse at a much lower temperature than the glass they ornamented. Ingredients included lead which served as a flux, tin which provided opacity, and a metallic oxide which provided the coloring. These powdered constituents were mixed with oil to form a paint. The design was painted on the glass with a brush, and the glass was then fired in a small furnace to cause the enamels to fuse with the glass.

<sup>33</sup> Pattern molding is a term used to denote the process whereby glass was molded for a pattern or decoration only in a part-size dip or a part-size mold and was then expanded.

<sup>34</sup> Robert G. Breen, "Goblets Grew Beside a Sugar Loaf Mountain," *The Sun*, June 25, 1952.

<sup>35</sup> Advertisement, *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Feb. 11, 1785.

tain the type of product manufactured as well as the magnitude and versatility of the manufactory. The following advertisement exemplifies the variety of glass that Amelung's agents had to offer:

Glass Store.

The Subscriber has just opened, in the House formerly occupied by Mr. BENEDICT SWOPE, and next Door to Mr. ENGELHARD YEISER'S. A general Assortment of Glass, which he will sell on the lowest Terms, either Wholesale or Retail, amongst which are, 6 by 8, 7 by 9, 8 by 10, 9 by 11, and 10 by 12 Window-Glass; Quart, Pint, Half Pint, Gill, and Half Gill Tumblers; Wine Glasses; Quart, Pint, and Half Pint Decanters, exact Measure; Goblets, Glass Cans, with Handles, of different Sizes; Phials assorted; and green Bottles, from Pint to Gallons; with sundry other useful Glass Ware, suitable for the Assortment.

This GLASS is all AMERICAN MANUFACTURE, very little inferior in Quality to any imported, and doubt not of its meeting the Approbation of the candid Friends to this Country, who wish to encourage its Artists in such useful Articles.

The Public's humble Servant,  
ANDREW KEENER.

Gay Street, Baltimore, March 14, 1788.<sup>36</sup>

Experts disagree as to the quality of the New Bremen product. Diggings at the site of the manufactory have produced a variety of artificially colored glass: white, amber, gray, green, black, purple, pink, and blue have all been discovered in a wide range of color intensity. George S. McKearin and Helen McKearin, noted authorities of American glassware, find a "noteworthy superiority in craftsmanship and engraving" in the Amelung presentation pieces as compared "to that of any glass credited to previous or contemporaneous glasshouses in America."<sup>37</sup> Helen McKearin Powers states that Amelung never achieved his goal of producing glass as clear as rock crystal;<sup>38</sup> however she finds Amelung specimens to be as clear as those of his contemporaries.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Mrs. William Robert Milford, upon searching the site of the manufactory, claims to have found specimens of brilliant clear glass, and accepts this as proof that Amelung's goal was attained.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps this discrepancy stems from what is considered as "perfection" in the product.

A scientific experiment to determine how early American industrial glass would compare in chemical and physical properties and composition to glass of today found Amelung glass superior in chemical durability to modern glass and possessing working temperatures much higher than any modern commercial glass tested, excepting one. The conclusion of the investigation was that Amelung must have put

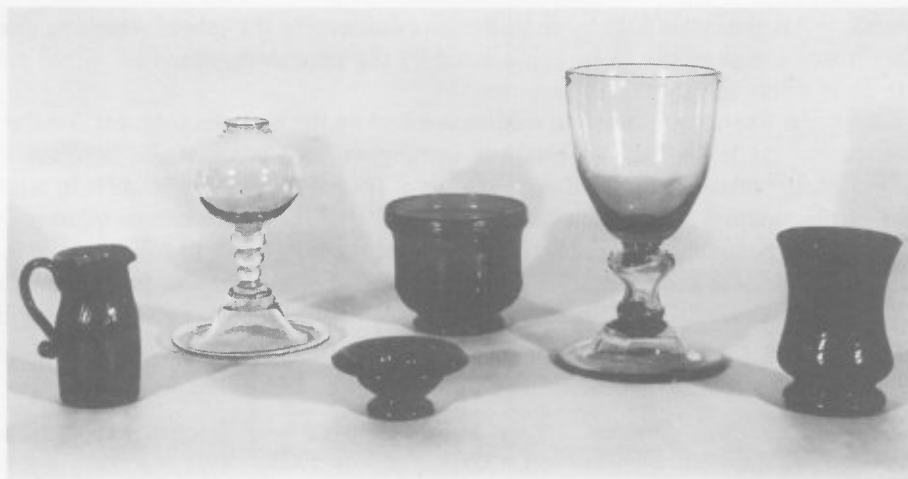
<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, March 14, 1788.

<sup>37</sup> McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> Katherine Scarborough, "Collectors Show Their Amelung Glass," *Sunday Sun*, May 4, 1942, quoting Mrs. Helen McKearin Powers.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Harriet M. Milford, "Amelung and His New Bremen Glass Wares," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (March, 1952), p. 7.



Amelung Glass including the Kohn Goblet. *Maryland Historical Society*.

forth much effort and expense to produce glass of such exceptional quality.<sup>41</sup> The New Bremen manufactory apparently achieved a high degree of proficiency in workmanship and excellence in output.

The question still remains as to why the New Bremen manufactory failed. A great many reasons have been given by an equal number of authors. From the amount of capital, land, and workmen involved in the manufactory, the operation could have been a success.

A main factor in the failure of Amelung's endeavor may have been an inability to sell the product. While the glass was of exceptional quality, the cost of producing it was higher than the cost of imported Bristol glass.<sup>42</sup> Although in theory the United States favored nonimportation and encouraged home manufactures, the public still preferred certain imported products as a matter of status and in some instances because of finer quality or lower price. Thomas S. Buechner, former Director of Corning Glass, states that Amelung did not receive the support, either public or private, that he had hoped for. Americans favored imported glassware, perhaps because they did not care for the greying or other off-color tones in the American glass.<sup>43</sup> George S. McKearin notes that the form and shape of New Bremen goblets and pokals was from twenty-five to thirty years behind the times in Europe.<sup>44</sup> If such was the case, status-minded Americans would not have purchased an unfashionable product. Thus, the reluctance of American consumers to support domestic manufactures in preference to foreign goods was probably a contributing factor to Amelung's

<sup>41</sup> Donald Hubbard, Lillie B. Jenkins, and Elizabeth M. Krumrine, "Amelung Glasses Compared with Some Modern Commercial Glasses," *The Scientific Monthly*, LXXV (Dec., 1952), pp. 329-330.

<sup>42</sup> Drepperd, *ABC's of Old Glass*, p. 32.

<sup>43</sup> Scarborough, "Collectors Show Glass," quoting Thomas S. Buechner.

<sup>44</sup> Scarborough, "Collectors Show Glass," quoting George S. McKearin.



downfall.<sup>45</sup> Another view held by some authors concerning the sale of Amelung glass is that it was too exquisite to be appreciated by the pioneer citizen, who would purchase glass solely for utilitarian purposes.<sup>46</sup>

Factors of a financial nature had a definite effect on the manufactory, for Amelung expended his capital in the construction, equipment, and labor of the business. In 1787 Amelung stated, "already the great sum of fifteen thousand pounds is in circulation in this country," and then added further, "Besides the before mentioned fifteen thousand pounds, which the establishment of the Glass-House has already cost, more money will be required."<sup>47</sup> He then persuaded Americans to invest between 7,000 and 8,000 pounds which he subsequently spent. By 1790 the total monetary investment in the New Bremen operation amounted to between 22,000 and 23,000 pounds. In 1790 Amelung recorded in the back of his "Remarks" pamphlet:

This pamphlet was published 2 Years after my Arrival here. Since that time a great [amount] of Alteration happened and a Capital of 7 to 8000 £ more expended. Yet the Value of the Manufactory has increased 3 times this Sum, not only in regard to the Number of the People, as also in making all sorts of Glass Ware and which is increasing every day. I also have purchased one Thousand Acres of Land more, and erected another new Glass House on that Spot, all which is paid.<sup>48</sup>

Amelung apparently spared no expense in the colony or the manufactory.

Amelung was aware that he must obtain patronage in high places, for he brought letters of introduction from Bremen with him in 1784 from Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and the American Consul in Paris to General Thomas Mifflin (President of Congress), Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and probably others in business.<sup>49</sup> These letters made it possible for him to obtain the large sums of money required to maintain the operation of the manufactory. New Bremen did apparently receive publicity in high places, for there is record that Amelung in March, 1789, gave President George Washington a selection of the finest glassware, including two flint glass goblets having Washington's coat of arms engraved on them, in order to interest him in the cause.<sup>50</sup> Later Washington wrote to Thomas Jefferson:

A factory of glass is established upon a large scale on the banks of the Monocacy, near Frederick, in Maryland. I am informed that it will produce this year glass of various kinds to the amount of 3,000 pounds.<sup>51</sup>

Amelung was to discover that such patronage was not sufficient to obtain government support.

<sup>45</sup> McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 103.

<sup>46</sup> Homer Laton Keyes, "Add to Amelung," *Antiques*, XXVII (Jan., 1935), p. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Amelung, "Remarks on Manufactures," in McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 101.

<sup>48</sup> Amelung, notes appended to "Remarks on Manufactures," 1790, quoted in McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 102.

<sup>49</sup> Ethel Roby Hayden, "Old Frederick Glass."

<sup>50</sup> "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> Letter from George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, n.d., quoted in "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 60.



A pair of case bottles made for Baker Johnson, 1788. *Maryland Historical Society*.

From the onset of the establishment of the glassmaking operation financial problems grew progressively worse. Despite a heavy demand for window, table, chemical, and bottle glass, the accounts receivable of the New Bremen enterprise could not be collected. Constantly rising costs of production and transportation subsequently prohibited adequate profits. Helen McKearin Powers asserts that the cost of four years of experimentation to make a perfect product was one of the reasons why the operation endured for only ten years.<sup>52</sup>

The core of the financial difficulty lay in Amelung's naive assumption that the federal government would not hesitate to invest its funds in the enterprise.<sup>53</sup> His attempt to build an extensive business with a minimum of private capital and anticipated federal monetary aid<sup>54</sup> was destined to fail. It is not surprising that Amelung expected assistance from the federal government, because in Bohemia the government had begun to subsidize and even nationalize the glass industry. Probably experiencing no hesitation in making requests for assistance, Amelung frequently and persistently attempted to obtain funds at the state and federal level. In 1788 Amelung appealed to the Maryland Assembly for a loan of 1,000 pounds. The request was granted along with a five-year moratorium on taxes, and the money was subsequently spent.<sup>55</sup>

The patronage of United States Senator Charles Carroll of Carrollton did prove of value to Amelung. In 1789 Carroll initiated the enactment of a protective tariff which was the first passed under the Constitution. The motive behind the legislation was to lessen foreign competition, and the provisions of the Tariff Act of 1789 which resulted are thought to have been purposely submitted to aid the New Bremen

<sup>52</sup> Scarborough, "Collectors Show Glass," quoting Mrs. Helen McKearin Powers.

<sup>53</sup> Drepperd, *ABC's of Old Glass*, p. 31.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Milford, "Amelung and His Glass," p. 8.

manufactory. A duty of ten percentum ad valorem was imposed "on all looking glasses, window and other glass (except black quart bottles)."<sup>56</sup> Carroll had stated to the Senate that the New Bremen manufactory "which had began in Maryland with considerable success, might with some encouragement be firmly established."<sup>57</sup>

The Tariff Act of 1789 did not relieve Amelung of his financial problems, and his requests for government assistance met with continual failure. On March 17, 1790 he asked that his employees be exempted from military duty, but the request was denied.<sup>58</sup> A disastrous fire at New Bremen in May, 1790, caused a great financial loss and prompted Amelung's May 26, 1790 petition to the United States House of Representatives for financial aid.<sup>59</sup> Consequently, on June 3, 1790, the House commission assigned to investigate the merits of the request reported in favor of the enterprise:

That the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States be authorized to make a loan not exceeding \$8,000 to the said John F. Amelung, he giving satisfactory security for the reimbursement of the same within \_\_\_\_ years.<sup>60</sup>

Representative Daniel Carroll of Maryland, relating that 20,000 pounds had been expended in its development and that a variety of accidents and a high rise in the price of grain had caused an embarrassing financial situation, gave a background of the manufactory. He stressed that Amelung needed a loan of only 3,000 to 4,000 pounds to overcome the predicament.<sup>61</sup>

The debate that followed Amelung's 1790 request to the House of Representatives for financial aid was to establish a national precedent. Smith of South Carolina and Sherman of Connecticut felt that it was unconstitutional for Congress to lend the money of its constituents and believed that an unwise precedent would be initiated. They recommended that Amelung apply to Maryland for his loan. Sedgwick of Massachusetts was of the opinion that many large manufactures desired likewise assistance, and it would be unwise to help a foreigner in preference to natives of the country. Jackson of Georgia agreed that such a loan would show partiality, for Maryland would benefit more than other states. Thus, Jackson also suggested that Amelung appeal to the Maryland state legislature. On the other hand, Stone of Maryland expressed an opinion favorable to the report, and Boudinot, a member of the investigating committee from New Jersey, stated that the Amelung glass he had seen was superior to any ever produced in the United States. Vining of Delaware wanted a precedent set by an act of Congress, which he felt had the general power to

<sup>56</sup> McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 103.

<sup>57</sup> "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 61.

<sup>58</sup> "Frederick Firm Asked U. S. Help in 1790," *Baltimore Evening Sun* (?), July, 1938.

<sup>59</sup> Weddell, "Saga."

<sup>60</sup> *Annals of the Congress of the United States* (Washington, 1834), First Congress, June 3, 1790, p. 1630.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

loan money to encourage arts and manufactures in the United States. He emphasized the importance of manufactures, especially glassmaking, which if encouraged would prevent a large amount of money from going abroad. At the close of the debate, a resulting majority vote opposed the loan and the petition was denied.<sup>62</sup>

Amelung hoped to obtain government support in an effort to expand his enterprise to other areas of the United States, for in July, 1790, he petitioned Congress for a grant of land "in that extensive Tract, which the State of Carolina has ceded to the United States free of Traces [sic] for Years, to build Two or Three Glass Houses on it from which the Southern States might be supplied."<sup>63</sup> The petition stated the advantages of Amelung's proposed colony: in a few years it would have 500 people; neighboring lands would double in value; and it would provide a greater barrier of protection against Indians than scattered plantations and would supply the area with glass. Amelung also mentioned that he intended to erect a glasshouse in Virginia.<sup>64</sup> The outcome of the petition is not certain, however, for no extant record has been found of Amelung establishing other glasshouses.

Amelung thought that the ten percentum ad valorem duty on imported glass was not high enough, and he petitioned Congress to raise it several times.<sup>65</sup> On August 10, 1790, a supplement to the first Tariff Act was passed "for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of Manufactures."<sup>66</sup> The act was to become effective on December 31, 1790, and it included an increase in the duty on glass as specified in the Tariff Act of 1789 to 12½ percentum ad valorem.<sup>67</sup>

The increase in duties, however, did not help the declining financial situation of the New Bremen manufactory. In 1791 Amelung was forced to petition the November session of the Maryland Assembly for a further indulgence in the payment of his debt to the state, and the request was granted.<sup>68</sup>

Probably in an attempt to save the New Bremen enterprise, Amelung formed a partnership with James Labes of Baltimore.<sup>69</sup> The following advertisements reveal that the two men were associated in business early in the history of the glassworks:

GLASS for Sale,

By the Subscriber, in Market-Street, vis. 10 by 12, 8 by 10, 7 by 9, and 6 by 8 Window Glass; and a Quantity of hollow Glass Ware, in small Packages assorted; containing Quart, Pint, Half-Pint, Gill and Half-Gill Tumblers and Wine-Glasses; which he will sell low for Cash or Country Produce

JAMES LABES

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1630-1632.

<sup>63</sup> "Petition of Amelung for grant of land in the Cession made by Carolina," July 19, 1790. Photostat of original in the National Archives, in *Miscellaneous Amelung Papers*, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Weddell, "Saga."

<sup>66</sup> McKearin and McKearin, *American Glass*, p. 103.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> "John F. M. Amelung at suit of Abraham Faw—Answer filed March 27th, 1801," *Amelung Papers*.

Baltimore, March 16, 1789.

Orders for any kind of GLASS WARE, will be duly executed, at the Glass-House in this State, with the greatest Despatch, and on the lowest Terms, by Applying to

JAMES LABES.<sup>70</sup>

In 1793 Amelung mortgaged part of the New Bremen tract of land to Labes,<sup>71</sup> who joined him in the firm of Amelung and Labes. The first recorded mention of such a relationship is a deed of July 1, 1793, when Labes and Amelung sold a part of a tract of land called "Gault's Garden" to a Henry Darnell. This land was part of the original New Bremen tract. Both Amelung and Labes later applied for the benefit of the Act for Relief of Insolvent Debtors. In 1797 they gave two separate deeds of trust to Samuel Moal, who was appointed trustee by Alexander Contee Hanson, Chancellor of Maryland.

The ledger of John Shewell, a merchant of Fredericktown, reveals that Amelung experienced progressive financial difficulty. Amelung did most of his personal buying from Shewell's general store, and the store's ledger shows that most of his dealing was executed by trade and that his plant was in serious financial difficulty. Debts were paid mainly in window glass. In this way Amelung also paid the accounts of many of his workmen. The ledger confirms that on several occasions Shewell advanced money to Amelung, as there were no banks in Fredericktown where he could obtain a loan.<sup>72</sup>

A combination of several factors probably caused Amelung's industrial venture to fail. The rising cost of production due to his concentration on experimentation, the unsuccessful competition with English imports, and the inability to manage his capital properly were probably the three major reasons for his lack of success. The operation could have been successful and could have undersold the competitors if Amelung had concentrated on producing utilitarian glassware instead of ornate pieces. He possessed the labor, resources, and capital to do this, but he failed to manage these assets properly.

Amelung exhausted every possible means of obtaining financial assistance, and finally in 1795 he had to concede defeat. The next year the manufactory ceased to operate. By 1797 the affair was practically out of his hands. Several personal bankruptcies resulted, and there were sales of different parts of the land, mortgage foreclosures, and other litigations in the next several years. Subsequently Amelung moved with his family to Baltimore and died suddenly on November 20, 1798 at the age of fifty-nine.

Among collectors of glass today, original pieces of glass from the New Bremen manufactory are considered to be among the most valued possessions. To many it is a deep regret that more glassware has not survived. Amelung glass was, and still is, among the finest in the world. Amelung's failure was unfortunate in the sense that

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<sup>70</sup> Advertisements, *Maryland Journal*, March 17, 1789.

<sup>71</sup> Quynn, "Amelung at New Bremen," p. 166.

<sup>72</sup> Haller, "Old Glass Workers."



Mirror, fiddle shaped. Reputed to have been made at the Amelung Glass Works.  
*Maryland Historical Society.*

one of the first colonies of skilled artisans in the United States endured for only ten years. However, Amelung's position was not unique in American history. During the late colonial period, "Baron" Stiegel had established a colony for German glass-makers in Pennsylvania which had also suffered failure. The importance of Amelung's settlement lies mainly in the fact that the glassworkers he brought to America were instrumental in establishing other glasshouses which did endure and which were among the antecedents of our present-day glass industry.

Many of the artisans who left New Bremen at its close moved elsewhere to pursue their art. A number of them, including master glassblowers, migrated to New Geneva, Ohio, where they established a glass manufactory under Albert Gallatin which was in operation from 1797 until 1803.<sup>73</sup> Others ventured to Pittsburgh where they became associated with the glass industry in that area. Amelung's son moved one of the glasshouses to Baltimore, where he helped to found the first glass manufactory there in 1799.<sup>74</sup>

Seeing that Amelung's business was failing, former Governor Thomas Johnson and his brothers Roger, James, and Baker opened two experimental glassworks of their own and employed glassworkers who had been employed by Amelung. One was called the "Etna (or Aetna) Glass Works" or "Johnson Glass Works" and was located, according to Thomas Johnson, on Bush Creek.<sup>75</sup> The other glasswork was located on Tuscarora Creek on land that Thomas Johnson had purchased in 1778.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> "Maryland Products—Glass," *Baltimore* (Feb., 1948), p. 61.

<sup>75</sup> Advertisements, *Bartgis's Maryland Gazette*, and *Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, Feb. 26, 1793, and *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 15, 1793.

The Etna plant was offered for sale in November, 1793, only nine or ten months after its opening;<sup>76</sup> but was operated, if only intermittently,<sup>77</sup> until 1807.<sup>78</sup> No definite opening or closing dates have been uncovered for the Tuscarora Creek manufactory, although one source states that it produced glass until 1801.<sup>79</sup>

In 1797 Amelung sold the unmortgaged land he still owned to Adam Kohlenberg, who had been a master glassblower at New Bremen, and John Christian Gabler.<sup>80</sup> The land was located on the south bank of Bennett's Creek where one of the glass ovens stood. Employing many of the glassworkers who remained in Frederick County, Adam Kohlenberg established the "A. Kohlenberg's New Glassworks" on the site. The operation is believed to have produced glass intermittently for fifteen years.

Although the glass industry in Western Maryland was not permanent, it was important due to its relatively large size; Amelung's glassworks constituted the largest industrial operation in the region during the eighteenth century. The glass industry declined sharply after Amelung's failure, with most of the artisans moving to the Ohio Valley, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, or the small local glasshouses. When these endeavors failed also, the glassworkers either moved again to pursue their art or turned to farming. Thus, the foundation of America's present-day glass industry was laid, in part, by Amelung's New Bremen Glass Manufactory in Western Maryland.

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<sup>76</sup> Advertisement, *Maryland Journal*, Nov. 15, 1793.

<sup>77</sup> It was in operation as late as Feb., 1797, when it was mentioned by Thomas Johnson, Jr. in an advertisement. *Federal Gazette*, Feb. 9, 1797.

<sup>78</sup> E. R. G., "Others Than Amelung Engaged in Glass Making Here," *The Daily News* (Frederick), Aug. 3, 1940.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Quynn, "Amelung at New Bremen," p. 166.

# The Bituminous Coal Lobby and the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894

JOHN ALEXANDER WILLIAMS

IN THE TARIFF'S long history as a premier issue in American politics, few confrontations were as bitter or intense as the struggle over the Wilson-Gorman tariff in 1894. After more than a decade of tariff controversy, the return of Grover Cleveland to the White House and the election of the heavily-Democratic Fifty-third Congress gave Democrats the first opportunity to enact the tariff reform program put forward by Cleveland in his famous Tariff Message of 1887.<sup>1</sup> But fate placed the moment in the midst of a grueling depression and the hardpressed industrialists who benefitted from the existing McKinley Tariff were determined to defend their privileges. This determination was especially pronounced among the bituminous coal producers of the eastern seaboard, who faced Canadian competition in their northeastern markets.<sup>2</sup> Except for the wool growers and the lumber men, the coal producers represented the least centralized of the major industries concerned and they had to compete for the attention of congressmen with powerful integrated corporations like Standard Oil and the American Sugar Refining Company.

However the bituminous industry's powers of creating and applying pressure were greatly augmented by the politically-experienced management of the third largest seaboard producer, the West Virginia Central Railroad. Henry G. Davis of Baltimore, president of the road and its principal mining subsidiary, the Davis Coal & Coke Company, was a former Democratic senator from West Virginia; although he had endorsed publicly the ambiguous "incidental protection" theory of Democratic

<sup>1</sup> Two old and partisan accounts remain the standard guides to nineteenth-century tariff battles: F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 5th edn., 1910) and Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 1903). Good accounts of the Wilson-Gorman tariff and its background may be found in Festus P. Summers, *William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1953), pp. 67-92, 107-110, 137-208; John R. Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman* (Baton Rouge, 1953), pp. 200-238; Allen Nevins, *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), pp. 491-92, 563-578; and H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley, National Party Politics, 1877-1897* (Syracuse, 1969), pp. 120-21, 165-73, 271-81, 308-310, 349-355, 460-65, 473-79.

<sup>2</sup> For the threat of Canadian competition as viewed by eastern bituminous producers, see Israel W. Morris, "The duty on coal. . .," pamphlet (Philadelphia, 1872), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; U. S. Congress, House Committee on Ways and Means, *Arguments . . . on the Morrison Tariff Bill* (Washington, 1884), p. 362; "Copy of a letter . . . regarding the Tariff on Coal," September 7, 1893, Henry Gassaway Davis Papers, West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library; *The Coal Trade* XXI (1894), pp. 7-10.



protectionists, his private view of tariff reform was quite succinct: "Charity ought to begin & stay at home."<sup>3</sup> His son-in-law and principal business partner, Stephen B. Elkins of New York, would soon become a Republican senator from West Virginia and had earlier served as New Mexico's delegate to Congress and as Benjamin Harrison's Secretary of War. Richard C. Kerens of St. Louis, Republican leader of Missouri and an old associate of Elkins in national politics, was an important minority stockholder in the Davis-Elkins firms.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the Senate Democratic majority leader, Senator Arthur Gorman of Maryland, was Davis' first cousin.<sup>5</sup> While Gorman acted as arbiter among the industries seeking to maintain their protected status, Davis, Elkins, and Kerens rallied the seaboard producers and successfully defended the duty on coal. But their experience demonstrated that the process of exerting business influence in Congress was filled with dangers and uncertainties that could reduce even the most politically-sophisticated businessmen to despair.

# I

As it happened, the leader of the tariff reform forces in Congress in 1893-1894 was another West Virginia politician, William L. Wilson, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. A one-time protege of Davis, Wilson had long since thrown off the industrialist's guidance on matters respecting the tariff, even though he represented the district containing the Davis-Elkins railroad and mines. He rebuffed a final private approach by Davis early in 1893 and added insult to injury by withholding the former senator's last morsel of Democratic patronage.<sup>6</sup> Thus when Wilson announced tariff hearings for September 1893, Davis was under no illusion as to the probable result. Although it would be weeks before the Ways and Means Committee began even to draft a tariff bill, Davis filed a reference to the hearings under the heading, "Bill to remove duty on coal."<sup>7</sup> Whereupon he alerted the seaboard producers and also West Virginia Governor William A. MacCorkle, a Democratic protectionist. A delegation of sixty-five interested persons gathered in Washington September 19 in answer to his summons. About a dozen of those present were, like Davis, major producers based in Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York; the rest were small operators, railroad sales or land agents, promoters, company lawyers,

<sup>3</sup> Davis to C. B. Hart, Oct. 5, 1886, "Notes for a Speech, 1888," n.d., Davis Papers. For intra-industry relations in the eastern bituminous trade, see Davis to Berwind, White & Co., Nov. 18, 1882, Davis to Messrs. Mayer, Lee and Loveridge, Nov. 30, 1887, "Articles of Agreement of the Seaboard Steam Coal Association," n.d. [Feb. 1, 1889], *ibid.*; *The Coal Trade*, XVII (1890), pp. vi and XX (1893), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> John A. Williams, "New York's First Senator from West Virginia: How Stephen B. Elkins Found a New Political Home," *West Virginia History*, XXXI (Jan., 1970), 73-87; "Purchase of Shaw Stock. Account Dated February 10th, 1894," Kerens to Davis, June 17, 1895, Davis Papers; H. Edward Nettles, "Richard C. Kerens," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols.; New York, 1928-1936), X, pp. 353-354.

<sup>5</sup> Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman*, pp. 4, 81-82.

<sup>6</sup> Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 43-47. Davis to Wilson, Feb. 9, April 18, 1893, H. G. Buxton to Davis, Feb. 25, 1893, Davis to Grover Cleveland, April 15, 1893, Wilson to Davis, May 31, 1893, Davis Papers.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum, "Bill to remove duty from coal. Letters sent to [list follows]," Sept. 9, 1893, Davis Papers.

with a smattering of miners, mostly from the Virginias.<sup>8</sup> After a brief pep talk by Davis, the delegation elected him, MacCorkle, and five others to carry its message up to Capitol Hill.

Apparently Davis expected the awesome political significance of his presence to carry the day, for he did not prepare his economic case very well. Chairman Wilson maintained an appropriate silence as he was reminded of the importance of coal in his district and of the vengeance that thousands of unemployed miners were certain to seek at the polls. But the other members of the committee had some sport with Davis as he sought to clothe his appeal in the thesis that the price of coal was made up of "96 per cent labor" and that the miner was the real beneficiary of the tariff. If that were the case, Representative William D. Bynum of Indiana wanted to know, how was it that miners in Davis' mines were paid forty cents per ton while the duty was seventy-five cents? Did not the duty really up the price for the operator?

"My gracious! That is hardly a fair question," Davis replied.

"Who gets it? [the seventy-five cents]" Bynum asked.

"Nobody."

"Then it would be no harm to take some of it off?"

Davis thought not.<sup>10</sup> Then William J. Bryan of Nebraska took over, quizzing Davis about the relation of freight rates and coal prices, eventually drawing an admission that it was really low Canadian shipping costs, not wages, against which the seaboard producers sought protection. Bryan therefore suggested that what the bituminous people really needed was protection against American railroads, but again Davis demurred. Even a friendly inquisitor like Thomas B. Reed could not resist twitting Davis on his definition of coal as "a manufactured article," not a raw material. Davis got out of that one by means of a clumsy reference to Reed's obesity; later, however, Reed stepped in to rescue him from the jabs of Bynum and Bryan.<sup>9</sup> The performance was not solely the fault of Davis' deficient speaking ability. The glib MacCorkle, who followed him to the witness chair, had trouble lending dignity and disinterestedness to the coal men's plea. West Virginia, the governor argued, had but recently set foot "on the road to commercial supremacy." Proper tariff revision would begin with the established industries of New England and spare the raw materials essential to West Virginia's development. When asked to name some local product (such as Wheeling's well-established glass and pottery industry) whereon the duty might equitably be reduced in accordance with the Democratic platform upon which he had recently campaigned, MacCorkle could not think of any. "[Laughter]."<sup>10</sup>

For all its merits as an entertainment, Davis' show of force had little deterrent effect. As expected, Wilson's committee drafted a tariff bill with a long free list and a shift from specific toward ad valorem duties. Coal headed the free list, along with wool, lumber, iron ore, raw sugar, and forty-odd other raw materials; duties on steel

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; Minutes, "Washington, Tuesday, Sept. 19, 1893," enclosed in American Coal Trade Committee, Secretary's Record (C. M. Hendley letterbook), Davis Papers. Cited hereafter as ACTC minutes or letters.

<sup>9</sup> U. S. Congress, House Committee on Ways and Means, *Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means, First Session, Fifty-Third Congress* (Washington, 1893), pp. 1124-1131.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1114-1142.



Arthur P. Gorman. *Library of Congress.*

ingots, pig iron, and scrap were sharply reduced, those on most manufactured articles more moderately. A proposed federal income tax—Wilson having lost the battle for a tax on corporate incomes only—was a controversial companion to the bill. It is not proposed here to relate the legislative history of the Wilson bill,<sup>11</sup> but rather the role of the bituminous lobby in the legislative struggle it provoked.

## II

At the outset of the legislative struggle, protectionists were faced with two alternatives. Elkins believed that with “good work” the Wilson Bill might be defeated

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<sup>11</sup>For the detailed composition and legislative history of the Wilson Bill, see Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 167–172, 176–186, 189–202. The bill was made public on Nov. 27, 1893, reported to the House, Dec. 19, 1893, debated there Jan. 6–Feb. 1, and passed on the latter date. From Feb. 2 until March 20, 1894, it lay in the Senate Finance Committee, which reported it with two hundred amendments; four hundred and thirty additional amendments were added in Senate debate through July 3, when it passed the Senate as the Wilson-Gorman bill. The struggle continued in the House-Senate conference committee until Aug. 13, when the House capitulated and accepted the Senate amendments. The bill became law without the President’s signature on Aug. 28.

altogether, thus leaving the satisfactory provisions of the McKinley Tariff in force.<sup>12</sup> The other possibility was to amend the bill before passage, in which case the bituminous producers hoped to salvage at least a fifty-cent duty on coal. The former course was clearly to be preferred, but Republican differences over strategy and Democratic determination to pass a tariff bill of some description soon disclosed that the more tenable course was to seek suitable amendments. With this end in mind, Davis set about organizing his forces and making a preliminary survey of the ground.

In this work he was aided by Senator Gorman. No one had any doubt that coal's best hope lay with the Senate. For tactical purposes, however, Gorman advised a show of opposition in the House; "the more that is done in the House the greater the effect will be in the Senate when the bill reaches there," Elkins explained.<sup>13</sup> Thus Davis sought to recruit as many representatives as possible, concentrating on congressman from Maryland and the Virginias. There was, as his private secretary put it, a strong "under-current" of protectionist sentiment among a minority of Democrats.<sup>14</sup> But party discipline eventually prevailed, holding all but five to the majority when the coal schedule came to a vote.<sup>15</sup> On the Wilson Bill as a whole the Democrats presented a united front. The day of passage belonged to Congressman Wilson, who after a stirring oration was carried from the House on the shoulders of Bryan and John Sharp Williams and then left town to seek recovery from his exertions. In another part of the Capitol, Davis was already quietly at work among the members of the Senate Finance Committee, to whose hands the Wilson Bill was committed on February 2, 1894.<sup>16</sup>

Just as there was no doubt about the most advantageous field of battle, so there was none as to the proper strategy. As Davis explained it, "There are [sic] likely to be a combination of Senators who are interested in different subjects in the Bill, and who will agree to aid each other in voting thereon."<sup>17</sup> It was taken for granted that the "combination" would stand together to force amendments to the House bill by refusing to vote for it unless their conditions were met. But first those conditions had to be defined precisely to determine which "subjects" would have their schedules revised and how generously. Within the larger combination there would be smaller ones committed to give priority to one or another product—in other words, a great deal of horse trading would go into composing the final package of amendments, with Gorman and the members of the Finance Committee acting as the principal brokers. Whether the coal lobby salvaged a fifty-cent duty or a forty-cent duty or none at all depended upon whether Gorman gave coal his first allegiance, as it was assumed he would do, and upon how many other senators the lobbyists could persuade to do so.

<sup>12</sup> Elkins to Davis, Dec. 11, 1893, Stephen B. Elkins Papers, West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library.

<sup>13</sup> Elkins to Davis, Dec. 19, 1893, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> C. M. Hendley to L. N. Lovell, Dec. 14, 1893, ACTC letters, Davis Papers.

<sup>15</sup> *Washington Post*, Jan. 24, 1894.

<sup>16</sup> Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 183–188.

<sup>17</sup> Davis to Elkins, Dec. 15, 1893, Davis Papers.



Grover Cleveland. *Library of Congress.*

After a scouting trip to Washington on December 13, Davis was optimistic. He counted about a dozen Democrats friendly to coal, with a hard core of seven—both Maryland and West Virginia senators, plus three Southerners—committed “Upon the merits of the proposition alone,” i.e., before any bargains were struck. He also learned that Senator David B. Hill of New York “inclines in our direction.”<sup>18</sup> The most important of his findings, so his secretary reported to a New York coal producer, was the need “to keep the Republicans interested and solid in favor of the retention of the duty on coal and if this is done there seems to be little doubt that enough Democratic Senators can be enlisted to vote the [free coal] measure down in that body and then fight it out in conference, where we will have the benefit of the under-current in the House.”<sup>19</sup>

Here was one place where the bipartisan connection of the West Virginia Central partners came into use. Elkins came down to Washington on December 18 to canvass the Republican side, meeting with Henry Cabot Lodge among others, and also with Gorman. Apparently he was not encouraged.<sup>20</sup> Further investigation disclosed little

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> C. M. Hendley to L. N. Lovell, Dec. 14, 1893, ACTC Letters, *ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> C. M. Hendley to L. N. Lovell, Dec. 18, 1893, ACTC letters, Elkins to Davis, Dec. 19, 1893, *ibid.*

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<sup>16</sup> Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 183–188.

<sup>17</sup> Davis to Elkins, Dec. 15, 1893, Davis Papers.

hope for united Republican action in behalf of coal. "They seem to be divided into three classes," Davis reported on February 6, "one that wants to do as much harm as possible in making a tariff for political advantage hereafter; another that believes the bill should be amended so as to do the least damage to the business interests of the country; and still another, and this class is quite strong, who want silver legislature [sic], income tax, &c and will agree to nothing else." With the lesson of the Lodge Election Bill debate behind them, no one could forget that the Silver Republicans were ready to do business with anyone who helped them advance the cause of silver.<sup>21</sup> This group thus constituted a danger and also an opportunity for intrigue that the coal lobby was quick to explore.

In the meantime, while the Wilson Bill was pending before the House, Davis sought to organize the eastern bituminous industry into an effective pressure group. There already existed a bituminous pool, the Seaboard Steam Coal Association, but it was early decided that it "should not be known in the matter."<sup>22</sup> Accordingly the Seaboard Association members met in Philadelphia on December 6 to organize a political front, the American Coal Trade League. L. N. Lovell, a New York producer, was elected chairman of the group, and C. M. Hendley of the West Virginia Central its executive secretary; Davis and eight others comprised an executive committee representing the major producing regions. As was the case with the pool, no small-scale operators were members of the League. With the exception of "Colonel" William Lamb, Norfolk sales agent for the Pocahontas Coal Company of Philadelphia, all of the members resided in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.<sup>23</sup>

At a second meeting on December 21, controversy developed over the best method of procedure, whether "to secure rooms and have an organization to be known quietly to the trade, or to keep in the background all signs of a formal association." A compromise resulting whereby the work "League" was replaced by "Committee" in the title, the former having a conspiratorial ring that some members feared "might be used in argument to the disadvantage of the cause . . ." Subsequently general meetings of the body were discontinued and affairs left in the hands of the executive committee, who scheduled a series of weekly meetings in Washington. However, Hendley was authorized to open an office in the capital, with secretarial services available to anyone friendly to the Committee's purposes and where someone would remain on duty at all times.<sup>24</sup>

Despite their historic concern with the tariff, the Coal Trade Committee represented the producers' first attempt at coordinated pressure and its operations showed that they had a lot to learn as lobbyists. Financial contributions came in

<sup>21</sup> Davis to Kerens, Feb. 6, 1894, Davis Papers. In Jan. 1891, Silver Republicans had voted with Democrats to terminate Senate consideration of the Lodge bill, designed to force election reforms on the "Solid South," in order to bring a silver coinage bill to the floor. Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, p. 342.

<sup>22</sup> G. C. Morris to C. M. Hendley, Sept. 12, 1893, Davis Papers.

<sup>23</sup> ACTC minutes, Dec. 6, 1893, Hendley to Messrs. Castner & Curran, Dec. 8, 1893, ACTC letters, *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> ACTC minutes, Dec. 21, 1893, Hendley to C. B. Orcutt, Dec. 30, 1893, ACTC letters, *ibid.*

slowly—the goal was \$24,000—and there was disagreement over how the funds should be assessed. By the end of February only \$4200 had come in, most of which went for officekeeping and to underwrite the activities of a “literary committee” headed by Colonel Lamb.<sup>25</sup> Lamb proved an enthusiastic spender, investing over \$1200 in a variety of projects, including “a casual social gathering with appropriate refreshments” for friendly congressmen, the “capture” of the Norfolk Board of Trade (resulting in Lamb’s election to the presidency of that body and in little else), and the buying-off of “the leading Populist paper in Virginia.”<sup>26</sup>

Other activities of the Committee included propaganda, aimed principally at the southern and New England constituencies of Democratic congressmen and a campaign to extract petitions from the member companies’ miners. Davis and Hendley gave vigorous attention to their West Virginia work force, collecting eight hundred-odd signatures on identical blue forms that emphasized the signers’ residence in Representative Wilson’s home district.<sup>27</sup> The Committee also searched for “some one in a professional way” to carry its message into the lobbies but by the end of January no one suitable had been found.<sup>28</sup>

When several weeks of such activity failed to produce discernible results in the House, the Committee formally resolved to concentrate on the Senate and to refine its approach further. Someone noted that “the work to be done in the Senate was quite different from that necessary in the House.” Actually most of the businessmen on the Committee were simply too inexperienced in their approach to a political situation and so increasingly authority to act for the industry passed into the hands of practised men like Davis. A fifty-dollar limit on unauthorized expenditures was imposed on Colonel Lamb and the search pressed for a professional lobbyist.<sup>29</sup> At the February 14 meeting, someone suggested J. W. St. Clair, a West Virginia legislator and lobbyist of wide and varied experience, who offered his services for \$7500. Davis, while recognizing St. Clair’s usefulness “in certain directions,” noted that what was needed was “help in the Finance Committee of the Senate.” At his suggestion, he was made chairman of a three-man “legislative committee” to continue the search.<sup>30</sup> Actually he had already found the right man. He was John E. Lamb of Indiana, no relation to the Norfolk literary man, but the nephew and private secretary of Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, chairman of the Finance Committee, and thus a very suitable man indeed.<sup>31</sup> Why Davis did not tell the Coal Trade Committee about Lamb is not clear; in any case, the two of them, plus Elkins, Kerens and two or three other lobbyists retained by

<sup>25</sup> ACTC minutes, Dec. 27, 1893, Jan. 3, 24, 31, Feb. 7, 14, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 10, 17, 31, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 3, 31, 1894, Davis to F. S. Landstreet, Dec. 22, 1893, Hendley to G. D. Morris, Jan. 8, 1894, ACTC letters, Davis Papers; petitions from Davis, Elk Garden, Windom, Coketon, Thomas, and Douglas Mines, West Virginia, in SEN 53 A-J.9.4, tray 54, Records of the House of Representatives, National Archives.

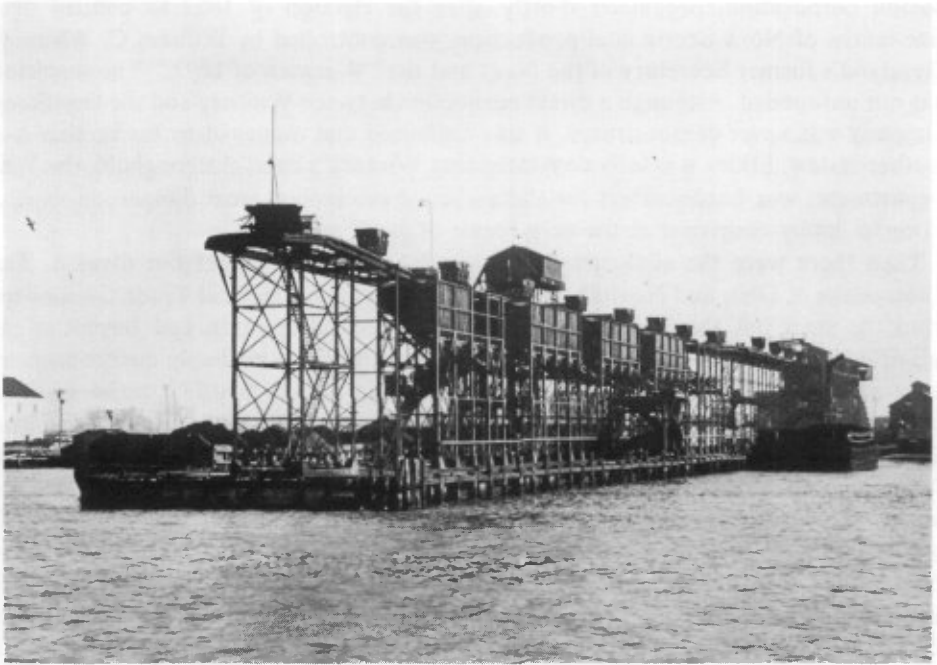
<sup>28</sup> Hendley to Lovell, Dec. 19, 1893, ACTC letters, Davis Papers.

<sup>29</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 10, 17, 24, 31, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 31, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Davis to J. E. Lamb, Feb. 2, 1894, *ibid.*





Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Coal Pier. *Maryland Historical Society.*

the partners thereafter became the effective representatives of the coal industry in the tariff struggle. The Committee itself closed its Washington office on March 1 and met only twice thereafter, although it remained in existence until the end of the year.<sup>32</sup>

The coal lobby's most perplexing difficulty was the attitude of other groups interested in blocking the Wilson Bill. Other sectors of the coal industry seemed indifferent to their plight. Alabama producers and those of the Fairmont (West Virginia) and Pittsburgh districts who competed in the western "lake" trade were ready with warm wishes but little else. A. B. Fleming of Fairmont, a former governor of West Virginia, and E. W. Rucker of Birmingham were invited to join the Coal Trade Committee but they did not. The owners of coal barges promised to maintain a separate lobby in Washington but no evidence of their assistance has been found.<sup>33</sup> The anthracite industry was also passive. Indeed—as the Committee noted with some annoyance—the *Coal Trade Journal*, spokesman for the anthracite interests, had yet to condemn the Wilson Bill by the time that debate began in the House.<sup>34</sup>

The Dominion Coal Company was naturally hostile. Many believed that this

<sup>32</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 31, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> ACTC minutes, Dec. 21, 1893, Hendley to Fleming, Dec. 28, 1893, Hendley to Rucker, Jan. 11, 1894, ACTC letters, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> ACTC minutes, Jan. 3, 1894, *ibid.*

Boston corporation, organized shortly after the election of 1892 to control over nine-tenths of Nova Scotia coal production, was controlled by William C. Whitney, Cleveland's former Secretary of the Navy and the "Warwick of 1892." The suspicion was not unfounded. Although a direct connection between Whitney and the Dominion company was never demonstrated, it was organized and managed by his brother and brother-in-law. Elkins was fully convinced that Whitney's current stronghold, the War Department, was headquarters for the seaboard producers' most dangerous rival, a powerful lobby nourished at the very breast of tariff reform.<sup>35</sup>

Then there were the coal-carrying railroads, politically potent but divided. The Chesapeake & Ohio and Norfolk & Western took part in the Coal Trade Committee from the start but the Baltimore & Ohio opposed its creation and boycotted its activities. The B & O opposed free coal, to be sure, but—probably conditioned by years of business rivalry with Davis and Elkins and political hostility to Gorman—it preferred to work through friendlier sources, notably West Virginia Senators Johnson N. Camden and Charles James Faulkner.<sup>36</sup> Davis was apprehensive about the Pennsylvania's attitude. Along with other northern trunk lines, it was expected to benefit if Canada responded to the passage of the Wilson Bill by lowering its tariff barrier against American coal exports to Ontario. However a quick visit to Philadelphia disproved the rumors. President G. B. Roberts assured Davis of his cordial support.<sup>37</sup> Although the P R R was not represented on the Coal Trade Committee, many of its most important coal shippers were. And W. J. Sewell, a former Democratic senator from New Jersey and P R R political troubleshooter, became an energetic and resourceful member of Davis' team of lobbyists.

Turning from their own industrial family to others threatened by the Wilson Bill, the coal men met worse than indifference. As the protected industries lunged into a *saue qui peut* under the reformer's lash, it became difficult to be certain who coal's real friends were. Camden, for instance, owned coal mines, but his major investments were in Standard Oil, his brother-in-law, W. P. Thompson, was president of the National Lead Company, and he was suspected of speculating in sugar stock.<sup>38</sup> Referring obliquely to these facts, and also to Camden's friendly relations with William L. Wilson, Elkins observed that it was "strange that the Standard Oil Company should succeed in having the [Ways and Means] Committee change their position about their schedule; and the National Lead Company should do likewise . . . people question how these great corporations can succeed while others fail."<sup>39</sup> Davis, while less skeptical of Camden's good faith, recognized that "neither he

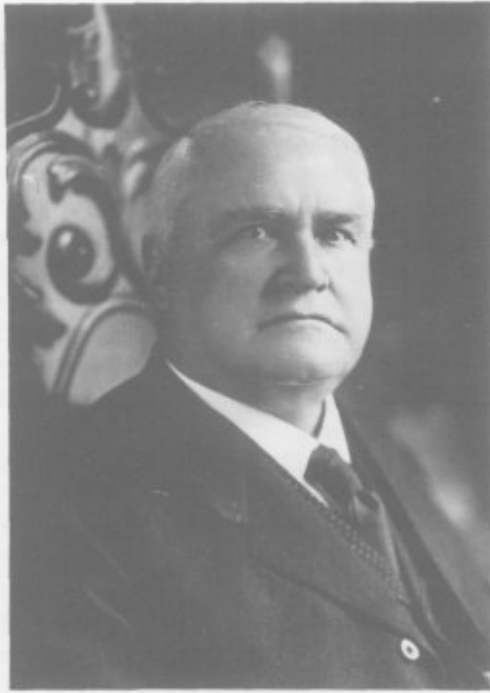
<sup>35</sup> Elkins to Davis, Sept. 23, 1893; Mark D. Hirsch, *William C. Whitney, Modern Warwick* (New York, 1948), pp. 416–417.

<sup>36</sup> Hendley to Lovell, Dec. 12, 1893, ACTC letter, Davis Papers; C. K. Lord to Camden, Jan. 7, 1894, Camden to C. F. Mayer, Jan. 9, 1894, Johnson N. Camden Papers, West Virginia Collection, West Virginia University Library.

<sup>37</sup> Davis to Elkins, Dec. 15, 1893, Davis Papers.

<sup>38</sup> Festus P. Summers, *Johnson Newlon Camden, A Study in Individualism* (New York, 1937), pp. 452, 478, 482–488.

<sup>39</sup> Elkins to Davis, Dec. 19, 1893, Elkins Papers.



Stanley B. Elkins. *Library of Congress*.

nor Faulkner will go as far as our friend from Maryland," Gorman.<sup>40</sup> But what about Gorman? Surely he could be trusted to look out for coal; he was a member of the family, a stockholder in the family railroad and coal companies, one of which his brother, Willie Gorman, managed. On the other hand, he was known among his critics as one of the "Senators from Havemeyer," the sugar trust, along with Senators Calvin S. Brice of Ohio and James Smith of New Jersey. No one seemed to know just how closely and in what ways Gorman was bound to the sugar interests; as his biographer notes, an actual link was never established.<sup>41</sup> Elkins suspected Gorman less for his interest in sugar than for his hobnobbing with William C. Whitney, the only one of the Cleveland circle with whom Gorman was friendly. "I have always been a little afraid of Whitney's influence with Gorman," he told Davis, and warned that the word in New York had it that Whitney was "depending on Gorman to keep coal free."<sup>42</sup>

In this atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty, it is not surprising that Capitol Hill sometimes took on the aspect of a jungle. Or a swamp, as critics might have said. "I confess, I don't understand the situation," Elkins reported during one crisis. "Perhaps

<sup>40</sup> Davis to M. E. Ingalls, Feb. 22, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>41</sup> Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman*, pp. 224-226.

<sup>42</sup> Elkins to Davis, Feb. 10, 1894, Elkins Papers.

you better come over & see for yourself.”<sup>43</sup> “Confidentially,” Camden wrote to his friends at National Lead, “there is less organization and leadership and things are more at odds and ends here, than is easy to conceive.”<sup>44</sup> Even if one puts the most charitable face on the activities of Gorman and his colleagues, and assumes that they were trying in good faith to discharge the Democratic responsibility to revise the tariff by compromising as many demands as was necessary to pass the bill, some of their industrial clients would get left behind and others taken in the balancing of competing claims. And, in addition to the lobbyists, the senators were under pressure from Democrats back home who demanded passage of the Wilson Bill as it came from the House or who begged simply that they quit “monkeying with” it and get the party off the spot.<sup>45</sup> The whole ordeal so distressed Camden that he finished the session in deep gloom, determined to get out of politics as soon as he decently could. “The truth is, I am getting worn out and tired,” he stated, confessing “doubt, at my time of life, whether the game is worth the candle.”<sup>46</sup>

Under these conditions, Davis and Elkins tried to act as Senators from Coal as well as they could without actually holding credentials in the upper house. The month of February was the most trying one for the interests seeking shelter within the senatorial combination and one or both of them was at Washington throughout the month. So was Kerens, who came east from St. Louis on February 9 bearing messages from western Republicans to the silver senators and Senator Hill. Hill was currently embroiled with Cleveland over a New York appointment to the Supreme Court, and the coal lobbyists could not resist the opportunity to intrigue for further supporters in case they should have to face a floor fight over the coal duty.<sup>47</sup> Above all, however, they wanted to avoid such a fight; “we all agree that it would not be safe to risk the Senate. We should have it from the [Finance] Committee,” that is, as part of a package of amendments to the original bill.<sup>48</sup>

It was in this connection that Kerens proved to be of greatest value. During February, a special subcommittee—consisting of Senators James K. Jones of Arkansas, George C. Vest of Missouri, and Roger Q. Mills of Texas—had charge of the Wilson Bill. Kerens was a director in the Gould system of southwestern railroads, a political power in all three states and so it was not surprising that within a few days of his arrival he was referring to Jones as “Our friend on the Committee” and relaying inside information to the effect that things were “not so encouraging. . . . Our freind

<sup>43</sup> Elkins to Davis, Feb. 15, 1894, *ibid.*

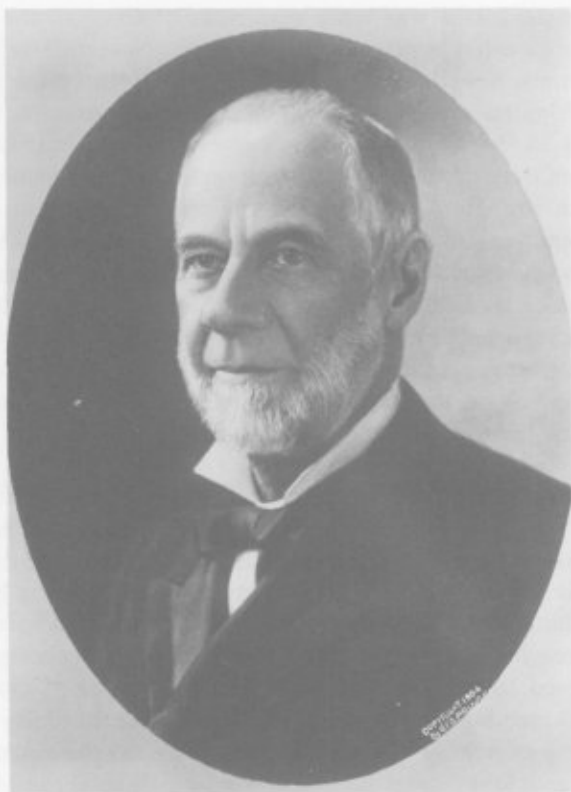
<sup>44</sup> Camden to W. P. Thompson, Feb. 25, 1894, Camden Papers.

<sup>45</sup> A. F. Mathews to Camden, March 8, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Camden to C. K. Newlon, Aug. 3, 1894, *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Kerens' messages were from “one of the Western Circuit Court Judges to certain members of the U. S. Senate,” particularly Hill and Edward S. Teller of Colorado. Davis and Elkins put Kerens in touch with Hill and the Senate vote on Feb. 16, 1894, in which Cleveland's appointee was rejected, suggests that a Hill-protectionist-Silver Republican coalition was at work. However, the pattern was not repeated in the debate and vote on the coal duty on June 18. Davis to Hill, February 13, 1894, Davis Papers; *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 1894; *Washington Post*, Feb. 17, 1894; *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, 2nd session, 6443–6466. For the New York context, see Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 570–571.

<sup>48</sup> Davis to M. E. Ingalls, Feb. 22, 1894, Davis Papers.



Henry Gassaway Davis, *Library of Congress*.

[sic] says the sugar [sic] is hurting coal & that these 2 interests better be divorced [sic]."<sup>49</sup> These two commodities, coal and sugar, were the two most controversial items on the free list: the arrogance and inflated profits of the Havemeyer trust, the outrage of laissez faire ideologues at the bounty awarded Louisiana planters under the McKinley Act, the appeal of cheap coal as "fuel for the poor" as well as for manufacturers, a series of bloody miners' strikes spreading through Alabama, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and the Virginias during the course of the tariff struggle—all combined to give these two schedules a loaded character that made all but the most pliant senators apprehensive.<sup>50</sup>

The Finance Committee was willing to grant each "reasonable protection" if the backers of each could arrive at a mutually acceptable formula, but the sugar lobby's demands were high and its influence great. This was why sugar was hurting coal. They could not be divorced, however, so long as Gorman was the principal senatorial

<sup>49</sup> Kerens to Davis, Feb. 14, 1894, Elkins Papers.

<sup>50</sup> *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, 2nd session, 6443-6445.

spokesman for each. Elkins was more suspicious of Gorman than ever, but Davis insisted that "our case [is] hopeless" without him.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the two partners, together with Kerens, Sewell, Lamb, and St. Clair, shuttled back and forth between Washington, Baltimore, and New York in a state of constant agitation between February 15 and 26.<sup>52</sup> On the 22nd they came up with a coal-sugar formula that secured a fifty-cent duty on coal with a correspondingly "reasonable" sugar schedule. Jones, after much wrangling, persuaded the Louisiana senators to agree; "Gorman and friends [Havemeyer] considering," Davis wired.<sup>53</sup> However, either Gorman's first allegiance was to sugar, or the sugar forces commanded more hard core supporters and the Marylander was forced to yield, for the agreement collapsed before the amended bill was reported to the Democratic caucus on March 1.<sup>54</sup> Gorman blamed the Louisiana senators for the change, but Senator Donelson Caffery angrily rejected the charge in a speech on the Senate floor and argued that the sugar schedule was devised not to suit his planter constituents, but in behalf of "the sugar growers of Maryland, Ohio, and New Jersey."<sup>55</sup>

Whatever the true story, the coal interests had to make do with a forty-cent duty. "40 cents is very bad for us. . . . The Whitney syndicate seem to be very well satisfied to have [it]," Elkins grumbled to Camden; "Everybody looks to the West Virginia Senators, to make the duty as high as 50 cents."<sup>56</sup> Had Davis or Elkins been one of those senators, undoubtedly an attempt to raise the duty would have been made when the amendment reached the Senate floor. The partners later thought up a variety of maneuvers designed to raise it, but none was acted upon.<sup>57</sup> On April 11, Davis informed the final meeting of the Coal Trade Committee that forty cents was all they would get and he was right. The coal amendment passed the Senate on June 18.<sup>58</sup>

Thereafter the coal lobby's task became the more congenial one of simply defending what they had. That the administration hoped to salvage free coal, iron ore, and sugar in the House-Senate conference committee was a ill-kept secret by this time. After the passage of their amendment, Davis sent out a general alert to his co-workers, assembling them in Washington on June 26. By the time the conference began on July 9, the force of lobbyists had been augmented to include Joseph H. Manley of Maine, chairman of the Republican national executive committee and an old political ally of Elkins and Kerens, and S. C. Neale of the P R R.<sup>59</sup> Their special object was to pack

<sup>51</sup> Elkins to Davis, Feb. 15, 1894, Elkins Papers; Davis to Elkins, Feb. 20, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>52</sup> Elkins to Davis, Feb. 15, 21, 1894, Elkins Papers; and correspondence of Davis and Lamb, St. Clair, Sewell and Kerens, Feb. 18-24, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>53</sup> Camden to W. P. Thompson, Feb. 22, 1894, Camden Papers; Davis to Elkins, Feb. 22, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Davis to G. B. Roberts, Feb. 26, 1894, Davis to Kerens, March 2, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>55</sup> *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, 2nd session, pp. 7823-7825; Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>56</sup> Elkins to Camden, March 12, 1894, Camden Papers.

<sup>57</sup> Elkins to Davis, March 2, 1894, Elkins Papers; Davis to Sewell, May 7, 21, 22, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>58</sup> ACTC minutes, April 11, 1894, Gorman to Davis, April 23, 1894, Davis Papers; *Congressional Record*, 53rd Congress, 2nd session, p. 6466.

<sup>59</sup> Elkins to Davis, March 2, 1894, Neale to Elkins, July 14, 1894, Manley to Elkins, Aug. 29, 1894, Elkins Papers; Davis to Sewell, June 21, 1894, Lamb to Davis, June 22, 1894, Davis Papers.

the Senate conference committee with "friends," headed by Voorhees and Jones. This accomplished, each man was assigned to a different conferee to sustain the senators' devotion to coal during the long and difficult contest with Wilson's team of House negotiators.<sup>60</sup>

As usual, momentary fears and uncertainties beset the deadlock, the most serious occurring during the week of July 16–21.<sup>61</sup> On the 19th came Wilson's famous reading of a letter from Cleveland, denouncing the Democratic senators for "party perfidy and party dishonor" and offering to compromise on sugar but not on iron ore or coal. But Gorman's rejoinder four days later stiffened senatorial backbones and within days it was the House conferees who were reeling.<sup>62</sup> "The outlook, . . . is exceedingly good," Neale reported to Elkins on July 28. "I am assured by a gentleman who stands very close to the Speaker [Charles F. Crisp of Georgia], and who had a confidential conversation with him late last night, that in the end the House will have to accept the Senate Bill. . . ."<sup>63</sup> The capitulation was to be made, Neale predicted, by a Democratic caucus scheduled for the following week. This was exactly what happened, except that Crisp did not summon the caucus until August 13. On the following day, Wilson, stopped by fatigue and illness, confessed defeat amid the jeers and jibes of Republicans. On August 28 the Wilson-Gorman Tariff passed into law.<sup>64</sup>

As Gorman's ambiguous maneuvers among the lobbyists suggests, the Wilson-Gorman Tariff was a politician's measure, a compromise, but the compromise lay solely in the adjustment of the claims of industrial clients. The industrialists rightly regarded the outcome as their victory. The coal producers quickly abandoned their disappointment in the forty-cent coal duty, which is not surprising in view of the fact that it offered nearly as much protection in terms of a percentage of the price of coal that prevailed between 1894 and 1900 as the McKinley law had offered in 1890.<sup>65</sup> In these circumstances, Elkins forgot all about his distrust of Gorman and hailed "his victory, perhaps the most remarkable in the history of the Country." Davis agreed: "This is a triumph for Gorman," he stated, "and for coal."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Davis to Lovell, July 5, 1894, Kerens to Davis, July 11, 1894, Davis Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Kerens to Davis, July 16, 1894, Elkins to Davis, July 18, 1894, Davis Papers; Neale to Elkins, July 17, 1894, Elkins Papers.

<sup>62</sup> Lambert, *Arthur Pue Gorman*, pp. 229–237.

<sup>63</sup> Neale to Elkins, July 28, 1894, Elkins Papers.

<sup>64</sup> Summers, *Wilson and Tariff Reform*, pp. 202–203.

<sup>65</sup> West Virginia Central coal delivered at Boston (the key market for Virginia and West Virginia coals) sold at about \$3.60 per ton (75¢ = 21%) in 1890. By 1894, Elkins was bidding \$2.70 (40¢ = 15%) there and losing out. Seaboard bituminous prices did not recover their 1893 level until 1901 and were lowest during 1897, when a 67% duty was enacted under the Dingley Tariff. Receipts of Canadian coal at Boston tripled in 1894—to all of 37,000 tons—while domestic receipts fell off from 1,194,000 to 921,000, probably more as a result of economic depression at home than of foreign competition. In 1896, the peak year of imports under the Wilson-Gorman law, Nova Scotia supplied 57,000 tons, domestic producers, 1,329,000. Elkins to Davis, March 20, 1894, Elkins Papers; *The Coal Trade*, XXV (1898), pp. 58, 62; XXVI (1899), p. 71; XXVII (1900), p. 72; XXVIII (1901) p. 59.

<sup>66</sup> Elkins to Davis, Aug. 15, 1894, Davis to H. G. Buxton, Aug. 15, 1894, Davis Papers. For the sequel to the struggle in Congress, see John A. Williams, "The Final Confrontation of Henry G. Davis and William L. Wilson in the Election Campaign of 1894," *West Virginia History* 32:1 (October 1970), pp. 1–9.

# The Cohen Brothers of Baltimore: from Lotteries to Banking

W. RAY LUCE

**D**URING A SPEECH to the Maryland Historical society in 1875 Henry Stockbridge reminisced about the numerous lotteries operating when he arrived in Baltimore thirty years before:

But the traffic most obtrusively and flauntingly carried on, in highways and byways and thrust upon the attention by all the schemes for attracting notice that ingenuity or greed could devise, was the traffic in lottery tickets. Advertisements in the papers, small circulars setting forth the peculiarities of this particular scheme—the vast number of prizes—the absolute certainty of drawing a prize which prize should be a fortune or two—and big posters in colored letters making proclamation of the same rare chances met the traveller through our streets in every square and at every corner.<sup>1</sup>

Baltimore, like many American cities, was engulfed by the lottery fever which swept the nation during the first half of the nineteenth century. Competition between lottery promotors was often intense and to succeed an agent needed skill and ingenuity. The Cohen's Lottery and Exchange Office was a leading vender during some of the most fiercely competitive years. Although they are remembered today almost exclusively by legal scholars because they were party to a landmark John Marshall Supreme Court case,<sup>2</sup> the firm was an integral part of Baltimore's financial development. Operations of the company provide an interesting case study of early nineteenth century business and promotional practices. Their lottery activities helped supply badly needed capital for local institutions and gave the company the skills and financial backing to move from lotteries to banking.

The Cohen family moved to Baltimore in 1803 when Judith Cohen, the widow of a Bavarian Jewish immigrant, moved there with her seven children from Richmond, Virginia.<sup>3</sup> The first publicised connection between a Cohen and a lottery occurred in 1812 when an advertisement for the Medical College of Maryland lottery listed Jacob I. Cohen Jr. as one of three men selling tickets in the venture.<sup>4</sup> Jacob, twenty-two and

<sup>1</sup> Henry Stockbridge, Sr., "Baltimore in 1846," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VI (March, 1911), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Cohens v. Virginia*, 6 Wheaton (U. S.), (1821).

<sup>3</sup> Aaron Baroway. "The Cohens of Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XVIII (December, 1923), 363-364.

<sup>4</sup> *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, March 11 and April 29, 1812.



the eldest son of Israel and Judith Cohen, was associated with the Medical College lottery office. Several lottery offices in Baltimore sold tickets in the scheme, and it is not clear whether Cohen was operating the office for the managers of the lottery or for himself. Whatever the case, the experience was a profitable one, and within a month Cohen's Lottery and Exchange office opened in the same office used by the Medical College lottery.

The Cohen's office continued to serve Baltimore for almost twenty years. As business increased, Jacob Cohen brought his brothers into the company until five of them were associated with it. Five branch offices were opened between 1819 and 1826 in Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York City.

Initially the office was almost exclusively devoted to selling lottery tickets. Buying large blocks of tickets at a discount, they were one of several firms in the city that resold such tickets to the public. That they were successful testifies not only of a public mania for lotteries but to the effectiveness of their advertising and business methods. Activities of the office, however, were never limited to just selling tickets. The company managed some lotteries but also engaged in a wide range of financial services. The variety of bank notes received in payment for tickets led naturally into the exchange business. Performing services which would later be the exclusive domain of the banker, the Cohen's office exchanged banknotes over a large portion of the United States. They further entered the domain of the banker or broker when they advertised seeking gold or banknotes and when they offered stocks and bank drafts to the public. These increasing banking activities led easily to de-emphasising the sale of lottery tickets and to concentrating exclusively on banking, which in fact happened, and culminated in the opening of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., and Brothers, Banking House in 1831.

When the Cohen's office opened in 1813, lotteries were common in Maryland. Lotteries in the state, however, were undergoing a change toward professionalism which lotteries throughout the nation experienced. The earliest lotteries had usually been employed by local citizens as a painless way to raise money for a school, road, or church without raising taxes. The local trustees obtained approval from the state legislature and then oversaw the lottery themselves. Lotteries slowly changed as trustees began hiring professional managers to run them. Professional ticket salesmen were also increasingly used, and they soon took the place of the local promoter who had offered chances to his friends or the newspaper office or bookstore that had stocked a few tickets in a local venture.

Four years after the Cohen's office was opened, the Maryland state legislature in 1817 drastically changed the state's lottery system. A 5 per-cent tax was placed on all prizes. All lotteries were now to be directed by a state commission. Any lottery, which had been approved by the state legislature, but had not been completed, would be allowed to continue, but it had to register with the commission. After each had registered, a schedule of lotteries was to be drawn up. Each lottery would then take its turn in appealing to the public. When the authorized lotteries completed drawing,

the lottery commission was to create a state lottery and the proceeds of it would be placed in a special state fund for assisting schools, internal improvements, etc.<sup>5</sup>

A series of lotteries advertised by the Cohen's office to raise money for a Baltimore monument to George Washington illustrate how the system worked. The state legislature approved a lottery to finance the \$100,000 monument in January, 1810.<sup>6</sup> But the \$100,000 was too large to be raised in one drawing, so the lottery was divided into several classes, each of which raised part of the total amount. The lottery continued to run for twelve years and ended with the sixth class in 1824.

The plan of the fourth class of the Monument Lottery, advertised by the Cohen's in 1820, is fairly typical of most Maryland lotteries, although there were differences in the number of tickets sold, price of tickets, and prizes as managers tried to design the most attractive scheme. Prizes in the Monument Lottery ran from one grand prize of \$40,000 to one thousand prizes of twenty-five dollars each. The 5,000 tickets were designed to sell for twenty dollars each and raise \$100,000 which was also the total amount to be awarded in prizes. The prizes, however, were subject to a 15 per cent discount, which would provide \$15,000 to meet lottery expenses and give some profit for the monument.<sup>7</sup> These expenses included a discount to the ticket salesmen. This discount was usually 5 per cent but might rise to 10 per cent if a promoter agreed to dispose of all the tickets in the scheme.<sup>8</sup> Salesmen also profited from the increased cost of tickets which usually accompanied the scarcity of tickets near the close of a lottery. Most lotteries were designed to increase the demand for tickets by scheduling the drawing of the largest prizes near the end of the venture. Tickets in the Grand State Lottery increased from \$8.50 to \$9.00 on September 5, 1823.<sup>9</sup> They continued to increase until by the end of February, 1823, they cost \$14.00 each.<sup>10</sup>

It took a great deal of courage for the managers to award the same amount of money in prizes as they collected in ticket sales. Unsold tickets were always a problem and managers often delayed announcing the date on which a lottery would start drawing until a certain number of tickets were sold. In a few rare cases, such as the sixth class of the Washington Monument Lottery, a lottery was stopped in the midst of drawing to allow more time for ticket sales.<sup>11</sup> Until the state stopped the practice in 1828, an additional discount was sometimes placed on prizes to compensate for unsold tickets.<sup>12</sup> After 1828 when most lotteries in the state were controlled by the lottery commission, the schemes usually provided a margin by awarding fewer prizes than the total amount raised by ticket sales.

<sup>5</sup> *Laws Made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland . . .* [1817-1818] (Annapolis, 1818), pp. 169-174.

<sup>6</sup> John Samuel Ezell, *Fortune's Merry Wheel, The Lottery in America* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 119; and *Baltimore American*, July 17, 1811.

<sup>7</sup> *Baltimore American*, April 27, 1820.

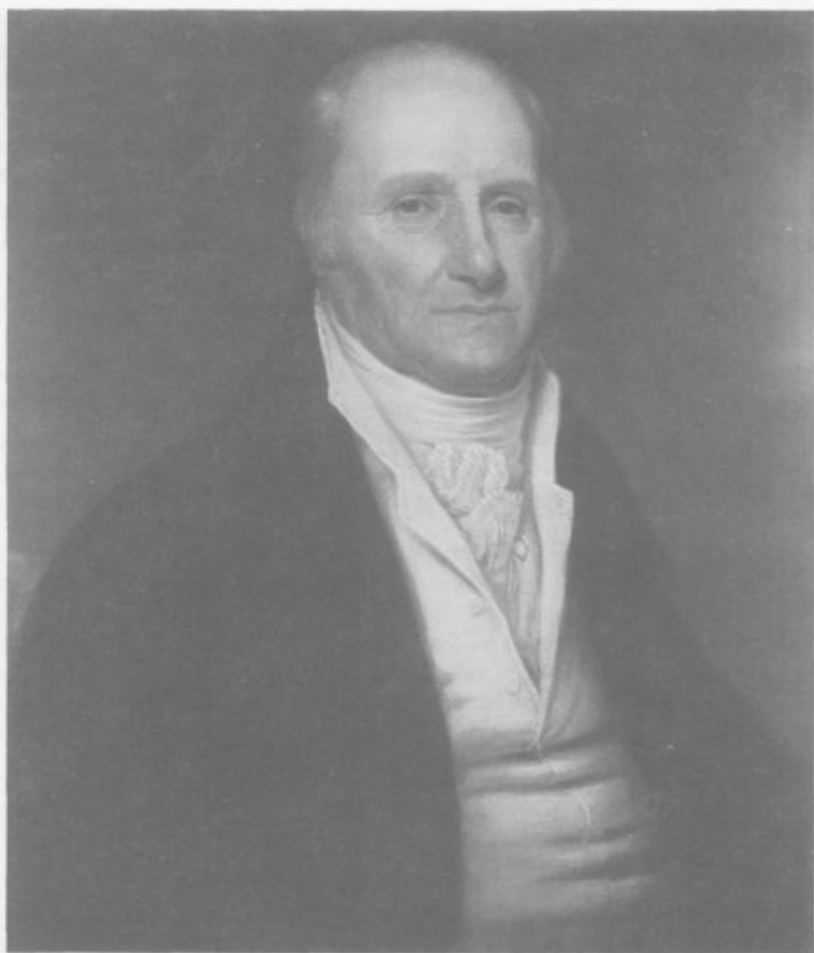
<sup>8</sup> *Laws . . . of Maryland . . .* [1828], Chpt. 129.

<sup>9</sup> *Cohen's Gazette and Lottery Register*, Aug. 29, 1822.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1823.

<sup>11</sup> The Washington Monument lottery delayed one drawing eight months. The eight drawing took place Oct. 28, 1823 and the ninth on June 29, 1824. *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1823 and June 30, 1824.

<sup>12</sup> *Laws . . . of Maryland . . .* [1828], Chpt. 129.



Jacob I. Cohen, 1744–1832. By Rembrandt Peale. *Maryland Historical Society*.

The drawing of a lottery was an exciting event. Two large wheels were generally employed. Into one of the wheels went all ticket stubs. The other wheel was filled with slips of paper, most blank, but a few designating a specific prize. A ticket stub was drawn from the first wheel and then a slip from the second to see what prize, if any, the ticket had won. Drawing thousands of tickets in this manner was a time consuming process and so only a limited number of tickets could be drawn each day. The next drawing might take place a week or even a month later. Such drawings usually took months to complete. Various methods were developed to reduce the time required for the drawings. Several lotteries decided to draw only the prizes.<sup>13</sup> The

<sup>13</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, July 4, 1822.

drawing was done in the usual manner except no blanks were added to the prize wheel. This method was shortened even more by the odd and even system patented by the Cohen's office in 1824.<sup>14</sup> The method, which was used in a majority of Maryland state lotteries, determined the smaller prizes by the last digit of the largest prize winning ticket. If the ticket ended with an odd numeral, all tickets ending with an odd number would receive a small prize, about equal to the price of the ticket, while all tickets ending with an even numeral would win if the drawn ticket ended with an even digit. A variation of this method awarded prizes to all tickets ending with the same last digit as the first three or four tickets. If the first drawn ticket ended in a seven, then all tickets ending in seven would receive a prize and so forth until the desired number of prizes had been awarded.<sup>15</sup>

Drawings were usually held in a public place, and when an especially large prize might be awarded, a considerable crowd often gathered. The state commission drew the tickets or appointed someone else to do it. They were also responsible to protect the ticket stubs and prize tickets to be sure that no one tampered with them. Henry Stockbridge's description of later drawings could easily apply to the earlier lotteries.

A high state official had supervision of the drawings of the lotteries which took place almost daily with open doors in an upper room of the Post Office building— . . . a cylinder constructed of glass—so that its contents could be seen—with a length of perhaps a foot and a half and a diameter of probably three feet was placed in elevated position so that all could see it. . . . The wheel was then rapidly revolved till its contents were most thoroughly mixed, when it was stopped, the door opened and a carefully blindfolded boy drew out one of the numbers, which was then announced to the assemblage, the wheel again whirled and another number drawn and announced. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Lottery offices purchased large blocks of tickets in these lotteries and vied fiercely with each other for the patronage of the local populace. The Cohen's office was very successful in this battle for patronage. Advertisements for the Cohen's office had a dual assignment; it had to exhort the virtues of a particular lottery and also to explain why the office could supply tickets better than a rival. Advertisements in newspapers, broadsides, and posters proclaimed the advantages of a particular lottery. Large letters proclaimed the grand prize and ads often reprinted the entire scheme—number of tickets, price of tickets, number and amount of prizes, and how much the prizes would be discounted. Additional information was given about the advantages of this particular scheme: the limited number of tickets, the large capital prizes, large number of prizes, or the low ratio of prizes to blanks, etc.

The Cohen's office went a step further than most offices in these advertisements and published their own four page newspaper from 1814 until 1830. Published weekly, the full sized *Cohen's Gazette and Lottery Register* contained not only advertisements for current lotteries but results from drawings, half a page of news, and

<sup>14</sup> M. D. Leggett, *Subject Matter Index of Patents for Inventions* . . . (Washington, 1874), II, p. 889.

<sup>15</sup> See Maryland State Lottery Number 6 for 1828, *Baltimore American*, Jan. 1, 1829.

<sup>16</sup> Stockbridge, "Baltimore in 1846," pp. 25–26.

a wide variety of financial news—the latest Baltimore price current, a list of discount rates on various bank notes, and a chart containing prices for selected stocks. The *Gazette*, however, was designed to supplement the other advertising methods not to replace them.

One of the most effective ways to gain patronage was to create the impression that tickets from your office were particularly successful. Some offices such as Allen's Truly Lucky Office and Waite's Truly Fortunate Lottery Office made it an explicit part of their title.<sup>17</sup> All offices loudly proclaimed that the last success enjoyed by a ticket was sold by their office. The Cohen's office was quite successful in comparison with other offices. During the first month that the *Gazette* was published, tickets purchased from the company drew more than \$125,000 in prizes.<sup>18</sup> The *Gazette* soon carried a list of all prizes over \$5,000 won by company tickets. The list of winners became very impressive in containing over \$1,500,000 worth of prizes.<sup>19</sup> Cohen's ads soon carried the impressive if hard to prove notation that, "MORE CAPITAL PRIZES have been obtained at COHEN'S than in any other office in America."<sup>20</sup>

Prompt payment of prizes was a second area used to demonstrate the advantages of purchasing tickets at Cohen's office. Most lotteries agreed to pay winners sixty days after the drawing had finished. That might lead to a very long delay if the winning number had been drawn during the first days of a large lottery which took several months to draw. All Cohen's tickets were redeemable as soon as they drew a prize. Notice after notice in the *Gazette* stressed that payment had been made immediately after a drawing and invited other winners to present their tickets for cash. The company took great delight in telling that the two owners of ticket number 7616 in the Washington Monument lottery had been paid \$1,000 cash in ten minutes after the prize was drawn.<sup>21</sup> This prompt payment is more impressive when it is noted that the office was required on three different occasions to redeem prizes of \$100,000 and on several other occasions to redeem \$50,000 prizes.<sup>22</sup>

The success and prompt payment of Cohen's tickets were further enhanced by the use of winner's names. As soon as permission was received, the *Gazette* published the winner's name and place of residence. This was often followed by a short biographical sketch and a note telling how and when the ticket was purchased. On one occasion *Gazette* readers learned that one-fourth of a \$5,000 prize was won in 1823 by Mrs. Williams of Fell's Point Baltimore, whose husband had purchased the ticket for her before sailing on a voyage to South America.<sup>23</sup> On another it was reported that Mrs. Hannah Proctor, an "industrious widow," from Milton, Albemarle County, Virginia, would be able to use the \$1,000 to help support her family.<sup>24</sup> Prize winners

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<sup>17</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 31 and Sept. 1, 1820.

<sup>18</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, May 30, 1814.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1830.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, April 17, 1818.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1822.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1830.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1823.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, March 11, 1825.



Washington Monument Lottery. *Maryland Historical Society.*

were always of the finest character. Mr. Elisha Tarver, from Crawford County, Georgia, who won \$50,000 in 1824, had born misfortunes which brought him to poverty "without a murmur." He possessed "those desirable qualifications which make him a firm friend, good neighbor, and estimable citizen."<sup>25</sup>

For losers the *Gazette* gave them a sense of vicarious pleasure to read articles on the travels of ticket number 1191, the \$50,000 winner in the Surgical Lottery. In tracing its history the Cohen's office reported that it had sold it and nine other tickets in 1818 to Ralph Huntington of Boston who in turn resold five tickets to a farmer who lived a few miles away in the country. Later while visiting Boston, the farmer checked to see if his tickets had won any prizes. When he found that one of them had won a fifty dollar prize, he, making a twenty dollar profit, sold all of them back to Huntington. Mr. Huntington then resold the ticket, presumably at an increased price, to Benjamin Eaton, who owned it when it was drawn.<sup>26</sup> How many other lottery patrons were like Ralph Huntington who had been so near fortune? How many other prizes were within easy grasp of the readers?

The theme of lost opportunity was a frequent one in the Cohen's publication. Much to the disappointment of many people who had not yet purchased their tickets, tickets in a lottery to help finance a surgical institution quickly sold out in December, 1817.<sup>27</sup> Advertisements for months afterwards reminded readers of the event and encouraged them to purchase tickets early to avoid a similar disappointment.<sup>28</sup> Advertisements for many lotteries indicated that only a few tickets remained and of course that they would sell quickly.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1824.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1818.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1817.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1817 and Feb. 27, 1818.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1817 and April 24, 1818.

A second method used to stress the lost opportunity was to emphasize any prize won by an unsold ticket. During the Cathedral Lottery one-half of the \$40,000 grand prize ticket remained unsold in the Cohen's office. The company "twisted the knife" when they recounted that upwards of one hundred people had talked to them since the drawing saying that they had intended to buy a ticket the morning of the drawing but for one reason or another they had not. If a fraction of them had made a purchase from the tickets, which were also sold in "shares" or fractions of a ticket, the paper said, one would have been \$20,000 richer because the office had only thirteen and one-half tickets remaining.<sup>30</sup>

A variation of this lost opportunity theme was the triumphant reporting of tickets sold just before a drawing. The *Gazette* reported that the other half of the \$40,000 winning ticket in the Cathedral Lottery had been purchased minutes before the drawing.<sup>31</sup> But the company had to be careful not to overemphasize these late sales, lest they cut into earlier sales, and so the *Gazette* usually reported when all winning tickets were sold.

The Cohen's office not only sold tickets in the Baltimore area, but soon specialized in mail order sales as well. The *Gazette and Lottery Register* was mailed to customers throughout the nation, and newspaper ads were placed in a large number of papers to attract the notice of "Distant Adventurers." The scope of their advertisements before they established branches can be seen in the list of newspapers in which they proposed to publish the prize list for the Maryland State Lottery in 1819. Included were: *The Philadelphia Aurora and Freeman's Journal*, *York Gazette*, *Harrisburg Republican*, *Easton (Maryland) Gazette*, *National Intelligencer*, *Georgetown Herald*, *Richmond Enquirer*, *Norfolk Herald and Beacon*, *Petersburg Intelligencer*, *Raleigh Star*, *Charleston City Gazette and Courier*, *Savannah Republican*, *Augusta Chronicle*, and *Pittsburg Gazette*.<sup>32</sup> A footnote to almost every one of Cohen's ads assured that mail orders from any part of the nation would be promptly filled. Advertisements also often contained an indication of the large number of bank notes and winning lottery tickets which would be accepted at *par* in payment for tickets.

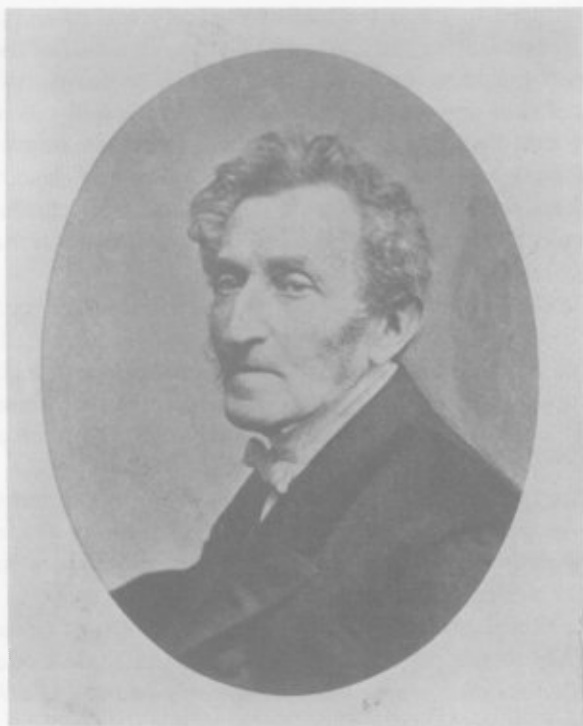
The *Gazette and Lottery Register* was designed not just to inform the prospective client but to give him the impression that he was learning the inner workings of the lottery. Although its reports were highly favorable to every lottery, the reader was told the particular advantages of the current venture. A weekly report on the demand for tickets, prizes drawn during the week, and the state of the wheel—the number of prizes remaining in the wheel, gave the distant customer the same information available to a customer in Baltimore. One of the most valuable services performed by the *Gazette* was to furnish a complete list of tickets drawn. This was especially important before the abbreviated methods of drawing were introduced. Distant ticket owners could learn the fate of any ticket when receiving such a list—no small satisfaction to an isolated lottery patron in an era of slow communications.

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1820.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1819.



Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., 1789-1869. *Maryland Historical Society*.

Special arrangements were also made for orders received after a lottery was over. The money was either returned in the next mail or invested in the next lottery.<sup>33</sup> An unidentified patron in Powelton, Georgia ordered a ticket in the Grand State Lottery in 1824. By the time his order was received, the lottery had finished drawing, and so the office invested his money in two tickets in the Washington Monument Lottery and allowed him the option of returning the tickets by return mail. It proved to be fortunate that he did not return the tickets because one of them won \$1,000.<sup>34</sup>

Winners of prizes, especially small prizes, were urged by Cohen's office to reinvest the money in another ticket to gain a second chance at the large capital prizes. Many lotteries were designed to encourage this "renewal of tickets." Most of the smaller prizes were commonly awarded near the beginning of the drawings. This not only encouraged early investment, but allowed time for the owner of a winning ticket to "renew" his ticket before the lottery was completed. The Masonic Hall Lottery in 1818, for example, awarded the first three thousand tickets drawn a twenty-five dollar prize even if they drew blank stubs.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1824.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1824.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1, 1818.



These small prizes could run as high as ninety dollars in some lotteries, but ticket costs were in the same price range. Such sums were obviously too large for many small investors, and it soon became an almost universal practice to sell shares or fractions of a ticket. This was another variation which the Cohen's office used to great benefit. Their ads usually indicated the price of various shares and the highest amount each could win. On paper the breakdown looked very impressive. For example, a one-eighth ticket in the Grand State Lottery cost only \$1.50, but it could win \$12,500.<sup>36</sup> Many prize winning tickets which were obtained from the Cohen's office were sold in shares and included capitals of \$100,000 and \$40,000.<sup>37</sup> The tickets were often highly fragmented and parts of a ticket might be sold in distant parts of the country. Ticket number 5859, a \$500 winner in the Cathedral Lottery in 1820, was divided into seven shares: one-fifth was held in Baltimore; one-fifth in Marietta, Pennsylvania; one-fifth on the Eastern Shore of Maryland; one-tenth in Harrisburg; one-tenth in Lexington, Kentucky; one-tenth in Emmitsburg, Maryland; and the final one-tenth in Baltimore.<sup>38</sup> Such winning tickets, sold in shares, always received a special notice in the *Gazette*.

In addition to these methods which the Cohen's office used in some way to advertise almost every lottery, the *Gazette* also contained specific appeals occasioned by a particular lottery or event. After the odd and even system of drawing gained favor and it was known that one prize was assured for every two tickets, the office started offering certified tickets. If a customer wanted to buy two tickets and did not wish to claim the low prize one of the tickets was certain to win, he could pay only the cost of the two tickets less the guaranteed prize. He would receive a certificate valid only for the higher prizes.<sup>39</sup> This idea was carried a step further in 1826 during the Grand State Lottery number eight was a restricted ticket which was not eligible for the lowest prize.<sup>40</sup> The only difference between the two kinds of tickets was that an individual could buy one restricted ticket but was required to purchase two certified tickets—or parts of two certified tickets.

Some individuals joined together to purchase tickets dividing the winnings among themselves. This process was formalized by the Cohen's office during the Maryland Grand State Lottery in 1821. Four "companies" were organized with a block of one hundred tickets set aside for each. Twenty shares were offered in each company for \$45. The ticket numbers were published in the *Gazette*, and the tickets were deposited in the Union Bank of Maryland. Winnings were to be divided equally among the subscribers.<sup>41</sup> It appears that such companies were only partially successful because they were only advertised during two lotteries.<sup>42</sup> One company, however, did win a one thousand dollar prize in the Grand State Lottery.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, May 22, 1823.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22, 1824, April 17, 1818; *Baltimore American*, June 11, 1814.

<sup>38</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, Sept. 11, 1820.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1825.


<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1826.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1821.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, May 29, 1821 and March 26, 1823.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1821.

1825



BALTIMORE, MARCH 8, 1825.

## Maryland State Lottery,

NO. III.

☞ Highest prize \$40,000.—The payment of all prizes guaranteed by the State.

### Original Scheme.

TO BE COMPLETED IN TWENTY DRAWINGS.

1 prize of	\$40,000	- is -	\$40,000
1 do.	20,000	- - -	20,000
1 do.	10,000	- - -	10,000
2 do.	5,000	- - -	10,000
50 do.	1,000	- - -	50,000
50 do.	500	- - -	10,000
50 do.	100	- - -	5,000
100 do.	50	- - -	5,000
5000 do.	10	- - -	50,000

5205 Prizes—14,795 Blanks. \$180,000

☞ Prizes subject to a deduction of 15 per cent. payable in 60 days after the drawing is finished.

The drawings are conducted under the superintendence of the Commissioners appointed by the state.

### ☞ PRESENT STATE.

Sixteen drawings over—only four remain—and all of the following prizes still undrawn!

1 prize of	\$40,000	is	\$40,000
1 do.	20,000	-	20,000
1 do.	10,000	-	10,000
1 do.	5,000	-	5,000
12 do.	1,000	-	12,000
6 do.	500	-	3,000
13 do.	100	-	1,300
51 do.	50	-	2,550
1919 do.	10	-	19,190

**Amounting to \$113,040**

☞ DRAWING.—All the prizes are now in the wheel floating except the \$40,000, which will be deposited on the opening of the wheel, for the 19th day's drawing, to take place on Wednesday, 30th inst. Should the \$40,000 prize come out on the 19th drawing, the lottery will be completed the next day; if not, in order to afford opportunity for renewals, the 20th and last drawing will be deferred to Tuesday, the 12th of April, when the lottery will positively be completed.

Whole Tickets, - \$12 00 }	Present Prices: {	Quarters, - - - \$3 00
Halves, - - - 6 00 }		Eighths, - - - 1 50

## Tickets and Shares,

In the greatest variety of numbers, warranted undrawn, for sale at

# CONINE'S OFFICE,

**FORTUNE'S HOME, NO. 32, MARKET ST. BALTIMORE,**

Who has had the pleasure lately of selling and paying to his customers, prizes to the amount of SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS.

☞ As the tickets in the above brilliant lottery are rapidly going off, immediate purchases are consequently recommended in order to prevent any disappointment in obtaining chances. ☞ Remittances will not be invested unless when received the state of the wheels justify it, and returned on receipt, or if requested invested in other lotteries.

☞ Such as have been denied a proportionate share of the favours of Fortune heretofore, are respectfully invited to make a trial in the above lottery at CONINE'S office.

Maryland State Lottery, 1825. *Maryland Historical Society.*

The Cohen's advertising occasionally responded to an event or news item. On one such occasion the *Gazette* in 1823 carried a story that they said had been authenticated by their Richmond agent. Chastine Clark of Richmond, the article reported, dreamed that number 2929 would win the one hundred thousand dollar prize in the

Grand National Lottery. He went to several lottery offices in Richmond and finally secured the number. The ticket did indeed win the prize and Mr. Clark found himself one hundred thousand dollars richer.<sup>44</sup>

A notice in the next issue of the *Gazette* indicated that anyone wanting a specific number could get it through the Cohen's office, but should apply early.<sup>45</sup> A somewhat similar notice was given during the Maryland Grand State Lottery number three when readers were informed that the Cohen's office had received the book containing tickets numbered one through one hundred. Any one wishing a ticket corresponding to their age or the ages of anyone in the family was advised to apply early because such tickets usually sold quickly.<sup>46</sup>

Other incidents were also used to increase ticket sales. When winners of a thirty thousand dollar prize and a forty thousand dollar prize proved to have been visiting Baltimore when they purchased their tickets, all visitors were urged not to leave the city without first buying such a lucky Cohen's ticket.<sup>47</sup>

The company prospered to the point that in 1819 a branch office was opened in Norfolk, Virginia and was run by two Cohen brothers—Philip I. and Mendes I. Cohen.<sup>48</sup> About a year after the office had opened the two proprietors soon found themselves in difficulty. They were fined for selling a ticket in the Grand National Lottery for violating a Virginia law banning the sale of tickets in out of state lotteries. The Cohen brothers argued that the lottery, which had been authorized by Congress, was a national institution, like the national bank, and could not be taxed or regulated by a state. The case proved to be a landmark in Constitutional law and was appealed to the United States Supreme Court in the case, *Cohens v. Virginia*, where the Virginia fine was upheld. Unsuccessful at the bar the Norfolk office now limited themselves to selling tickets in Virginia lotteries and ordering tickets for individual customers from the Baltimore office.<sup>49</sup>

Later in 1824 the two brothers opened another Virginia office in Richmond.<sup>50</sup> A fourth company office was opened in June of the next year in Philadelphia.<sup>51</sup> The offices were operated under different names until 1825. The Baltimore office was called J. I. Cohen Jr. The two Virginia offices were operated under the name P. I. and M. I. Cohen, while the Philadelphia office was called Jacob I. Cohen Jr. and Brothers. The name of all offices was finally changed to correspond with the Philadelphia office in 1825.<sup>52</sup> Two later offices, Charleston in 1825 and New York City in 1826, were organized under the same name.<sup>53</sup> The office in Charleston was operated in

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1823.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1823.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1824.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1822.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, May 13, 1819; *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, April 26, 1819.

<sup>49</sup> *Cohens v. Virginia*, 6 Wheaton (U. S.), (1821); *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, Aug. 21, 1820.

<sup>50</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, July 22, 1824; *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 19, 1824.

<sup>51</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1825.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1825; *Richmond Enquirer*, Oct. 7, 1825.

<sup>53</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 9, 1826; *Charleston Courier*, Nov. 1, 1825.

partnership with William F. Redding, while Mendes Cohen operated the New York office; the third he had opened for the company.<sup>54</sup>

The exact nature of the business done by these branches and their relations to the main office in Baltimore remain obscure, primarily because the *Gazette* published only information about the Baltimore office. The *Gazette*, which was now printed only after drawings rather than weekly, advertised only lotteries from Maryland. The one exception was the Consolidated Virginia Lottery which the Richmond office managed.<sup>55</sup> It appears that all of the offices sold tickets or took orders for tickets in at least some Maryland lotteries besides selling tickets in local schemes.<sup>56</sup> The branch offices also advertised as exchange offices and no doubt sent notes and bank drafts from one office to another. After the addition of other offices the company advertised in the *Gazette* as a unit. Ads in the paper carried a list of all offices and their addresses. The practice was used for two years, but it was discontinued in 1828 after which only the Baltimore office was listed.

Judged by either the number of prize tickets sold or the distribution of those prizes, the success of the Cohen's office is impressive. In almost every lottery advertised in the *Gazette* the office sold at least one-half of the prize tickets. During the Grand State Lottery number two, for example, tickets purchased from the office won the \$100,000 prize, the \$20,000 prize, one of two \$10,000 prizes, one of two \$5,000 prizes, plus an undisclosed number of smaller prizes.

All of these prizes were sold in shares and illustrate the large customer area served by the office in 1824. Winners came from Crawford County, Georgia; Fauquier County, Virginia; Savannah Georgia; Northampton County, North Carolina; Norfolk, Virginia; Lisbon, Ohio; Kingston, New Jersey; Shelbyville, Tennessee; Warren-ton, North Carolina; Northampton, Massachusetts; Richland District, South Carolina; Louisville, Kentucky; Rensselaer County, New York; and Baltimore, Maryland. It is interesting that of all the major winners only one-eighth of the \$5,000 prize was owned in Baltimore.<sup>57</sup>

This success took place against a background of increasing competition. The six lottery offices which were large enough to advertise in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* in 1820 had more than doubled by 1825 to thirteen.<sup>58</sup> Three of these thirteen offices were branches of national firms: Yates and McIntyre, Allen's Lottery and Exchange, and Waite's Lottery and Exchange office.<sup>59</sup> The com-

<sup>54</sup> Mendes Cohen, "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities,' and its collector, Colonel Mendes I. Cohen," *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, IV, no. 35 (Dec., 1884), pp. 21-23.

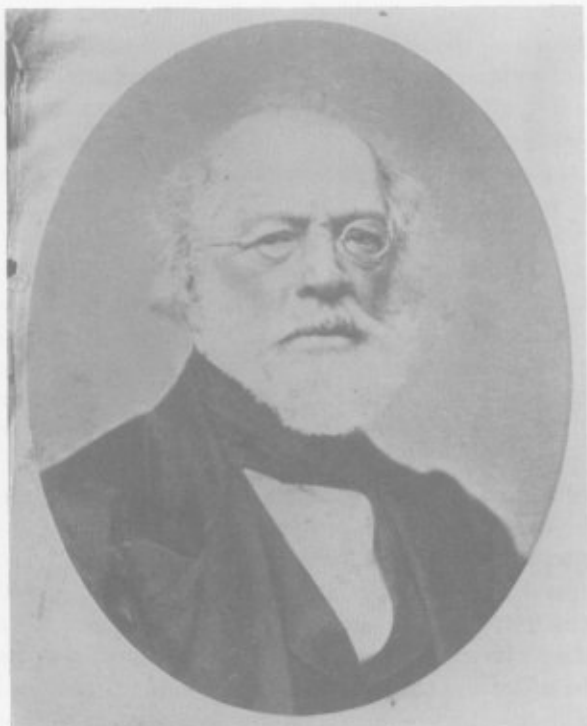
<sup>55</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1825; Oct. 18, 1826; May 29, 1828.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22, 1824.

<sup>58</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 1820 and Jan. 1825.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, March 5, 1825 and Jan. 3, 1825; Hugh G. J. Aitken, "Yates and McIntyre: Lottery Managers," *The Journal of Economic History*, XIII (Winter, 1953), pp. 36-58; *Baltimore American*, Jan. 4, 1825; Henrietta Larsen, "S & M. Allen, Lottery, Exchange, and Stock Brokerage," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, III (1930-1931), pp. 424-445.



Mendis I. Cohen, 1796–1879. *Maryland Historical Society.*

petition was often intense. All the offices advertised the same Maryland lotteries, and twelve of them were located on the same street, Market Street.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to ticket selling the Cohen's office entered many activities which went beyond this. As early as 1813 the company, acting as a middle man, bought large blocks of tickets from the managers and resold them to other lottery venders at wholesale prices.<sup>61</sup> The company advertised that tickets in the Liberty Engine Lottery could be purchased in a group of fifty or more for "Manager's prices."<sup>62</sup> Tickets sold to other salesmen in Philadelphia and Richmond won prizes in the Washington Monument Lottery in 1814, the Grand National Lottery in 1815, and the Surgical Lottery in 1818.<sup>63</sup> Even after the company's expansion, the *Gazette* announced in May, 1826, that the same liberal commissions would be given to agents and postmasters who took orders in the Grand State Lottery number seven.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 1, 3, 4, 10, and 14, 1825.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 20 and July 30, 1813.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, June 11, 1814.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4, 1814; *Cohen's Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1815 and Jan. 16, 1818.

<sup>64</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, May 14, 1826.

In addition to such selling of large blocks of tickets in several lotteries, the Cohen's office contracted to sell all the tickets in at least three classes of the Maryland State Lottery.<sup>65</sup> The state commissioners encouraged such agreements by offering a larger commission for selling all tickets—usually increasing the amount from 5 to 10 per cent.<sup>66</sup>

A further step toward managing took place in at least seven lotteries when the company acted as "secretary to the managers."<sup>67</sup> The exact nature of the position is unclear. In at least two classes of the Washington Monument Lottery it involved complete management of the lottery. During the fourth class the Cohen's office managed the lottery and paid all expenses—from printing the tickets to furnishing the wheels and keeping the official prize list—from the \$500 paid to them by the managers. In the fifth class the Cohen's office managed the lottery without charge, but the commissioners paid the fees. The role the office played in the various lotteries may well have been quite different, but it seems to have at least included handling "all communications and orders."<sup>68</sup>

Other facts give circumstantial evidence of the firm's managerial activities. The company wrote the executors of Thomas Jefferson's estate in an unsuccessful effort to manage the lottery of the Virginia President's belongings.<sup>69</sup> The office also patented two methods of drawing lotteries.<sup>70</sup> The first was the odd and even method which was widely used in Maryland state lotteries, and the second was a complicated system drawing four classes of one lottery—a plan which was used only once.<sup>71</sup> Whether or not the office was the official manager in these lotteries is a moot point, but it is clear that they were a major force in planning many of them and that their activities extended far beyond being just ticket salesmen.

The variety of banknotes received for lottery tickets and the large amounts of capital involved soon led the Cohen's office, and most other lottery companies, into offering a variety of financial services. Training in lottery offices, in fact, not only helped the Cohen brothers move into banking, but it also gave valuable experience to at least two others who made similar movements from lotteries to banking—Enoch W. Clark who founded the banking firm of E. W. Clark & Company of Philadelphia and John Thompson who established both the First National Bank of New York and the Chase National Bank.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1818, Aug. 9, 1827, and Oct. 25, 1827.

<sup>66</sup> *Laws . . . of Maryland . . .* [1828], chpt. 129.

<sup>67</sup> The Cohen's office was Secretary to the Managers in The Liberty Engine Lottery (1814), Washington Monument Lottery, Classes 4, 5, 6 (1820, 1821, 1824), Cathedral Church Lottery (1820), Virginia Consolidated Lottery (1821), and Grand State Lottery of Virginia (1821), *Cohen's Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1814, Sept. 11, 1820, March 13, 1821, May 3, 1821, Nov. 8, 1821, Sept. 9, 1824.

<sup>68</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 12, 1814, and "Committee Minutes," Book V, March 23, 1820, and Sept. 26, 1821, Papers Relating to the Washington Monument, Md. Hist. Soc.

<sup>69</sup> *Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*, Part II *Letters to Jefferson* VIII (November, 1894), *Bulletin of the . . . Department of State*, (Washington, 1895) p. 124.

<sup>70</sup> Leggett, *Subject Matter Index*, II, p. 889.

<sup>71</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, July 28, 1825 and Sept. 4, 1828.

<sup>72</sup> Ezell, *Fortune's Merry Wheel*, p. 84.

Banknotes were issued by a large number of banks throughout the nation that varied widely in their ability to redeem their notes with specie. This led to an intricate system of exchange with each banknote being discounted or given a premium according to a local merchant's faith in the bank. As a city grew these discount rates were usually standardised throughout the city. The *Gazette* published a list of discount rates for Baltimore, and the Cohen's company was soon providing a weekly list of discounts on bills issued by more than 130 banks for the *Baltimore American and Daily Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>73</sup>

An exchange office profited by buying distant banknotes at a discount and then either trading them with an office near the bank of issue for notes from their city or by returning the notes to the bank of issue for specie.

The Cohen's office attracted customers by accepting banknotes which would ordinarily be discounted at face value or *par* in payment for lottery tickets. As early as 1813 the company advertised that they would accept "foreign bank bills" without discount.<sup>74</sup> This was part of a company policy which also allowed winning lottery tickets and approved promisory notes to be received for tickets. The company always accepted a large number of notes at *par*, but changing economic conditions forced them at various times to limit the notes they received at face value. Following the Panic of 1819 the company agreed to receive notes from state banks in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia together with Virginia district banknotes and notes from most Maryland banks.<sup>75</sup> A year later, in September, 1820, the company accepted any notes which were not discounted more than 5 per cent in Baltimore.<sup>76</sup> The company never again gave blanket acceptance for any bill. Usually a list of states from which bills would be accepted at full value was included in the advertisements for a lottery.<sup>77</sup> The closest to a blanket invitation came in 1826 when the company agreed to accept at *par* the notes of any specie paying bank in the United States.<sup>78</sup>

The exchange business was always subordinate to lottery transactions but was occasionally advertised on its own right. This could range from a simple notice that Eastern and Southern banknotes were exchanged at the office or a notice that a traveler could receive banknotes suited for his destination by giving or receiving premiums at Cohen's office to an appeal for specific notes.<sup>79</sup> The Cohen's office wanted North Carolina notes from either Newbern or Cape Fear in 1815;<sup>80</sup> South Carolina and Georgia notes in 1819;<sup>81</sup> Bank of Virginia notes payable at Norfolk in 1820;<sup>82</sup> and North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia bills in 1821.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Baltimore American*, Sept. 7, 1819 to Oct. 30, 1820.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1813.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1819.

<sup>76</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, Sept. 11, 1820.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, March 20, 1821 and Oct. 18, 1826.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, May 24, 1826.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1815.

<sup>80</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 5, 1815.

<sup>81</sup> *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, Aug. 27, 1819.

<sup>82</sup> *Baltimore American*, Jan. 11, 1820.

<sup>83</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, Sept. 4, 1821.



Closely allied to the appeal for specific bank notes was the buying of gold and silver. The company issued periodic appeals for specie.<sup>84</sup> The most complete statement on what the company was seeking came in a notice telling about the new branches of the company and the services they offered: "DOUBLOONS, American, English, French, Spanish, Portugese and Colombian GOLD of every description, DOLLARS, Five Francs and French Crowns, purchased, and for which the highest premium will be given."<sup>85</sup>

Service as a stock broker came quite late in the Cohen's office history—1823.<sup>86</sup> Most notices made a blanket offer to buy and sell stocks.<sup>87</sup> An exception to this occurred in an 1827 advertisement for the Richmond office. The advertisement said that stock in the United States Bank, Bank of Virginia, Farmer's Bank of Virginia, and other governmental stock was available.<sup>88</sup> The company also emphasized the value of their new New York office in obtaining stocks. The office, located at 33 Wall Street, was "next door but one to the new exchange."<sup>89</sup> The weekly list of stock prices and dividends in the *Gazette* also helped to increase interest in this company service.

The Panic of 1819 produced an interesting use of these financial transactions by some lottery offices. The economic dislocation produced by the panic was especially hard on lottery promoters. Money available for such purchases was drastically reduced. The University of Maryland Lottery with a grandiose prize of \$250,000 collapsed, and the *Cohen's Gazette and Lottery Examiner* suspended publication for over a year.<sup>90</sup> To meet such pressures some lottery offices used the large amount of money they had collected in undrawn lotteries to speculate in banknotes. The Virginia legislature reported that some offices bought Virginia banknotes at a discount in Northern cities and presented them to Virginia banks for specie. The practice was disconcerting enough that the Virginia legislature passed a law prohibiting the sale of tickets in any lottery not approved by the state legislature.<sup>91</sup> No lottery office was mentioned by name, and so it is not known if the Cohen's office was involved, but it illustrates the kind of activity necessitated by the hard times.

It was not this kind of economic pressure, however, that caused the company to change from lottery vending to banking. A combination of increasing competition, enlarged state regulations, and waning public support provided much of the rationale for the change. The increasing competition is graphically shown in the increasing number of lottery offices in Philadelphia. There were three lottery offices there in 1809, four a year later, sixty in 1827; the number almost tripled four years later to 177

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 11, 1815; Oct. 30, 1822; March 18, 1825.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1826.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1823. The offices may have sold stocks before this date. A list of stock prices was published in the *Gazette* as early as 1817. *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1817.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 11, 1827.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1826.

<sup>90</sup> *Cohen's Gazette* stopped with the June 9, 1819 issue and resumed publication on September 11, 1820.

<sup>91</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 9, 1826.



## THE COALE LOTTERY.

### VALUABLE REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE,

To be disposed of by Lottery, under the superintendence of Trustees, appointed by the Legislature of Maryland, February, 1835.

§5. Peculiar circumstances attending the small property left by the late EDWARD J. COALE, induced the Legislature, to grant to the undersigned, his widow, the privilege of thus disposing of the following Property, which has been appraised by Commissioners duly appointed; and the property vested in Trustees, who have bonded for the regular and punctual appropriation of the same, according to the following

#### SCHEDULE.

PRIZE No. 1.—A tract of Land, called "Morven," in Bedford county, Pennsylvania, containing as per survey, 424 acres,.....	\$2,544 00
PRIZE No. 2.—A Tract of Land, called "Condy," in the same county, containing as per survey, 401 acres,.....	2,106 00
PRIZE No. 3.—A Tract of Land in Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, containing as per survey, 291½ acres,.....	1,747 00
PRIZE No. 4.—A Tract of Land, in same county, containing as per survey, 411 acres,.....	1,611 50
PRIZE No. 5.—A magnificent RING, in a superb case, presented to the deceased by the Emperor Alexander, of Russia, containing 175 diamonds of various sizes, and a rich central oriental Topaz,.....	1,000 00
PRIZE No. 6.—Three shares of Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road Stock,.....	225 00
PRIZE No. 7.—Three do. do. do. ....	225 00
PRIZE No. 8.—Portrait of Washington, by the elder Peale,.....	100 00
PRIZE No. 9.—A folio volume of splendid Engravings, from the paintings in the Gallery of the Marquis of Stafford, with descriptions,.....	100 00
PRIZES No. 10 to No. 364.—Containing a rich and valuable collection of Books, many of which are splendidly bound, in every department of science, literature, the fine arts, &c. &c. &c. more than 1300 volumes, of various prices, from \$75 the set, to \$2,—all of which are catalogued, numbered, carefully packed up, and insured,.....	5,008 50
3,000 Tickets at \$5 each	\$15,000 00

*N. B. The Taxes are paid on all the Tracts.*

PLATS of the REAL ESTATE, are deposited with the Trustees, John G. Proud and David Hoffman, Esqs. to either of whom, the friends of the estimable and philanthropic deceased, and others, inclined to promote the object, will please address themselves.

MARY ANN COALE.

*Baltimore, September, 1835.*

The Coale Lottery, 1835. *Maryland Historical Society.*

in 1831 and increased to over 200 by 1833.<sup>92</sup> The Cohen's office in Philadelphia certainly faced stiff competition.

Moral opposition to lotteries as a form of gambling together with stories of fraud and corruption increased the activity of those groups working for greater state regulation of lotteries. State legislatures in Vermont, Massachusetts, and North Carolina rejected proposed lottery schemes in 1827. Several states required large licenses for

<sup>92</sup> Ezell, *Fortune's Merry Wheel*, p. 99.

dealers. Maryland in 1819 required venders in Baltimore to pay a \$500 fee and to post a \$200 bond. Connecticut starting in 1825 charged \$100, and a year later Louisiana lowered their fee to \$5,000. Vermont enacted a \$500 fee on lottery dealers in 1826 and then doubled it to \$1,000 the next year.<sup>93</sup> Most of these fees were payable on a yearly basis and allowed only one office for each license. The high costs were often intended to prohibit lotteries rather than just to regulate them.

Other methods of regulation were also attempted. A legislative committee in Pennsylvania recommended stopping the Union Canal scheme when it expired in 1829. The recommendation was not followed but did generate increased opposition to lotteries. Connecticut enacted stiffer penalties for unauthorized lotteries in 1828 and 1830. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1834 to pass an amendment to the Maryland Constitution forbidding all lotteries.<sup>94</sup> Most of these statutes proved effectual. Unauthorized lotteries flourished in many areas of the country, but increasing opposition and statutes showed that tighter regulation was clearly the trend of the future.

This new opposition was also reflected in a decreasing public interest as measured by ticket sales. This is illustrated by the percentage of tickets sold by Yates and McIntyre, professional lottery managers, in various classes of the New York Literary Lottery. The firm sold about 99 per cent of the tickets in 1823. The company was still selling 93 per cent in 1826, but a slow decline had already set in. The percentages fell to new lows in June and December, 1828—67 per cent and 61 per cent respectively. By 1829 the company lamented that they could rarely find a scheme that would sell over one-half of the tickets, and in April of that year they sold only 38 per cent.<sup>95</sup>

The Cohen's office in Baltimore using Maryland lotteries also found itself unable to compete successfully in the national lottery market. The state's lotteries had been among the richest in the nation. They commonly offered prizes of \$50,000 or \$100,000 and attracted a great deal of money from other states. But the state's new schemes were not in the same class. Not only were the grand prizes greatly reduced—\$5,000 and \$10,000 being common—but the designs for the schemes were inferior. As the state assumed tighter control over lotteries, the practice of awarding all money collected in ticket sales as prizes was discontinued. The Grand State Lottery of Maryland number two, for 1829, for example, sold 20,000 tickets at four dollars each but awarded only \$60,000 worth of prizes. This constituted a 25 per cent discount on the prizes and, understandably, made the scheme less attractive to out of state buyers.<sup>96</sup> This change was probably the most important factor in the Cohen's office decision to move into banking. Maryland lotteries had provided the base for much of the company's success but the changes had made the company less able to compete for the patronage of lottery customers.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99, 195, 197, and 199.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 197, and 202.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>96</sup> *Cohen's Gazette*, May 21, 1829.

Sometimes during 1829 the brothers decided to retrench their offices and to concentrate on banking activities. Mendes Cohen, who at one time or another managed three of the company's offices, closed the New York office in 1829 and started a six year tour of Europe.<sup>97</sup> The last advertisement for the Richmond office in the *Richmond Enquirer* appeared in August of that year.<sup>98</sup> The partnership with William F. Redding in the Charleston was dissolved six months later in February, 1830, after which Redding continued the lottery business under his own name.<sup>99</sup> The Baltimore office stopped advertising in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* in May, 1829<sup>100</sup> and in the *Richmond Enquirer* during July, 1830.<sup>101</sup> *Cohen's Gazette and Lottery Examiner* stopped publication two months later with the September 1, 1830 issue. The next public notice of the Cohen's office came in August, 1831, in a *Baltimore American* announcement that the banking house of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., and Brothers was now open. The company indicated that it would accept private deposits and pay from 3 per cent for deposits payable on demand to 5 per cent for deposits requiring a ninety day notice before withdrawal, or left with the company for a year.<sup>102</sup>

The opening of the banking office severed the long and profitable connection between the Cohens and lotteries. The brothers had helped collect large amounts of money for various enterprizes while rising to positions of leadership in the community. The family sponsored the Hebrew congregation in Baltimore,<sup>103</sup> and Jacob I. Cohen and Benjamin I. Cohen were leaders in seeking the repeal of a law prohibiting Jews from holding public office in Maryland.<sup>104</sup> Immediately after the law was repealed in 1826, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. was elected to the city council.<sup>105</sup> In financial circles he was elected a director, and finally president of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company, and a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.<sup>106</sup>

Philip I. Cohen stayed in Norfolk and appears to have run a branch of the banking house for a short time.<sup>107</sup> He was later appointed postmaster for the Virginia city.<sup>108</sup> Benjamin I. Cohen and David I. Cohen, in addition to their banking activities, were among the leaders in organizing the Baltimore stock exchange. Both served as vice

<sup>97</sup> Cohen, "Mr. Mendes Cohen," p. 22.

<sup>98</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Aug. 19, 1829.

<sup>99</sup> *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 25, 1830.

<sup>100</sup> *Baltimore American*, May 25, 1829.

<sup>101</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, July 16, 1830.

<sup>102</sup> *Baltimore American*, Aug. 8, 1831.

<sup>103</sup> Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond From 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, 1917), p. 31.

<sup>104</sup> Baroway, "Cohens of Maryland," pp. 365-369; 55-56; Benjamin H. Hartogenis, "Unequal Religious Rights in Maryland Since 1776," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXV (1917), pp. 93-107.

<sup>105</sup> Baroway, "Cohens of Maryland," p. 369; Ezekiel, *Fortune's Merry Wheel*, p. 30; J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 420.

<sup>106</sup> *Baltimore American*, July 22, 1829 and April 9, 1869; Baroway, "Cohens of Maryland," p. 365.

<sup>107</sup> *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*, May 7, 18, 1832.

<sup>108</sup> Ezekiel, *Fortune's Merry Wheel*, p. 30.

president of the organization, and Benjamin was president at the time of his death in 1845. After Mendes Cohen returned from abroad, he joined his brother Jacob as a director of the Firemen's Insurance Company and of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He also served a term in the Maryland state legislature.<sup>109</sup>

The Cohen brothers thus made the transition from small lottery venders to owners and managers in a wide variety of financial enterprises. Their twenty year association with lotteries, far from being unworthy preparation for their later activities, was, in fact, the basis on which those later successes were built. They learned well the practical lessons in the highly competitive appeals for lottery patronage. When they did move into banking, lotteries had given them not only the capital they needed but financial skills and connections.

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<sup>109</sup> Baroway, "Cohens of Maryland," pp. 54-55, and 376.

## SIDELIGHTS

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### A History of the Calvert Papers, Ms. 174\*

RICHARD J. COX

THE STUDY OF history is dependent upon primary sources "for without the aid of original records and authentic documents, history will be nothing more than a well-combined series of ingenious conjectures and amusing fables."<sup>1</sup> Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, a well-known British historian, stated that his research technique was first to study the documents, because they are "the bare bones of history." "As a young man and a fledgling historian, I always longed for documents. I believed that if I had documents I would really have the secret to historical truth."<sup>2</sup>

One realizes the importance of documents and the development of historical societies in the nineteenth century when studying the evolution of historical inquiry from the pastime of lawyers and clergymen to its recognition as a profession.<sup>3</sup> Beginning with the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791, 111 such societies had been organized by 1860.<sup>4</sup> The contribution of these societies was not just their goal to educate the public about its past but the gathering and preserving of valuable original papers, making them available to *both* scholars and the public. Before these organizations were able to collect substantial quantities of primary material, the historian was forced to resort to his own accumulation. To be an historian required a certain level of affluence. When George Bancroft returned from England after only three years of residence (1846–1849), he brought "with him in his boxes of papers the most complete

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<sup>1</sup> New York Historical Society, "To the Public," 1804, quoted in Walter Muir Whitehill, "The Scholarly Responsibility of an Independent Historical Society," *Mod. Hist. Mag.*, LVI (Dec., 1961), p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> "Problems of a Modern Historian," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXX (April, 1972), p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Of 145 historians listed in *The Dictionary of National Biography* for the period 1800–1860, 34 were clergymen, 32 lawyer-statesmen, 18 printers, editors, or booksellers, and 17 physicians or scientists; just one considered himself only an historian. George H. Calcott, *History in the United States 1800 to 1860: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36. See also Leslie Whittaker Dunlap, *American Historical Societies, 1790–1860* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1944).

collection of original source material that any American Historian of his time possessed, the foundations upon which was built the great structure of his histories.”<sup>5</sup>

Because of the serious threat that valuable documents would be lost or carelessly destroyed the embryonic historical societies early displayed skill and aggressiveness in the gathering of manuscripts. In 1795 Reverend Jeremy Belknap, founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, wrote to Ebenezer Hazard that “there is nothing like having a *good repository*, and keeping a *good lookout*, not waiting at home for things to fall into the lap, but prowling about like a wolf for the prey.”<sup>6</sup> The Maryland Historical Society, upon its founding, followed Belknap’s advice.

From its beginning in 1844, the Maryland Historical Society was extremely sensitive to the protection of the state’s historical treasures. “An act to incorporate the Maryland Historical Society,” dated March 8, 1844, stated that these “citizens of Maryland have associated for the purpose of collecting, preserving and diffusing information, relating to the civil, natural and literary history of this State, and to American history and biography generally.”<sup>7</sup> Through pressure by the Society, the Maryland General Assembly in 1847 passed a resolution transferring to it all original papers relating to Maryland before the Revolutionary War. Unfortunately this resolution gave the Society only those papers that were in duplicate or in an “apparent or manifest decay.”<sup>8</sup> From this date until the Assembly’s “An act to provide for the preservation, arrangement, publication and sale of Ancient Documents pertaining to Maryland,” in January 1882 (approved March 30, 1882), the Society lobbied for stronger measures to safeguard documents.<sup>9</sup> This act gave to the Society, technically on loan from the state, “all the records, archives and ancient documents of the province and State of Maryland of any date prior to the acknowledgement of the Independence of the United States by Great Britain,” and also provided \$2000 for “arranging, editing and publishing” these documents.<sup>10</sup> Judge Ritchie later stated that this act, “from a historical standpoint, is the most important event that has yet transpired.”<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Russel B. Nye, *George Bancroft: Brahmin Rebel* (New York, 1945), p. 168. The nineteenth-century Maryland historian J. Thomas Scharf (1843–1898) is a good example of the historian as collector. In 1891 he donated to the Johns Hopkins University “a collection of Americana, which was one of the largest and best that had been assembled up to that time.” See *DAB*, XVI, pp. 419–420. This collection is now located at the Maryland Historical Society (Scharf Papers, MS. 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Whitehill, “Scholarly Responsibility,” p. 324.

<sup>7</sup> *Constitution, By-Laws, Charter, Circular and Members of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1844), p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> “Address of Mr. Albert Ritchie,” Dec. 10, 1888, in *The Calvert Papers*; Fund Publication Number 28, Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, 1889), I, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Brantz Mayer, in his 1867 inaugural address to the Society, stated that even “with all our losses at Annapolis, through time and neglect, the archives of Maryland are still rich in historical materials. If the State shall continue to disregard these manuscript treasures, and decline to have them suitably bound, indexed, preserved in suitable cases, and finally published, an application by our society to the legislature may probably enable us to perform this duty to our ancestors.” *History, Possessions and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society* (Baltimore, 1867), p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> W. H. Browne, et al. eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883), I, pp. iii–iv.

<sup>11</sup> *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 19.



Cecil Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore and 1st Proprietor of Maryland. By Abraham Blotting, 1657.  
*Maryland Historical Society.*

Within a decade of this act, the Society purchased in 1888 the Calvert Papers, a collection of approximately 1300 documents concerning the Calvert family and its relationship to the colony of Maryland. It is difficult to gauge the full effect this purchase had on Maryland and American colonial historiography except to say that it was immense. William Hand Browne, in the preface of his *George and Cecilius Calvert*, published in 1890, hints at its significance:

If the present sketch be in any degree less open to this reproach [than "meagre, shadowy, and unsatisfactory"] it is due to the fact that the writer has had some advantages that were denied

to his predecessors. In particular he has been able to consult, in their originals, the ancient papers of the Calvert family; a body of manuscripts unknown to previous historians, recently discovered in England among the litter and rubbish of an old conservatory, rescued from destruction, and acquired by the Maryland Historical Society. Some of these papers, as throwing new and important light on the events of the time, have been quoted at considerable length. . . .<sup>12</sup>

The purchase of these papers also excited the imagination and curiosity of historians around the country. Frederick Jackson Turner, for example, wrote to the Society asking "will you kindly inform me whether the recently acquired Calvert Papers cast light on the question of the Catholic influence in securing toleration in Maryland."<sup>13</sup>

Besides their obvious importance for scholars of history, the Calvert Papers themselves have an interesting past. The intriguing history of these papers reflects the growth and maturation of the Maryland Historical Society as a guardian of our heritage, as well as the changing concepts of manuscript care and usage. As the "prize" collection of the Society its story is worth telling.<sup>14</sup>

The history of the papers began in 1839 when John Henry Alexander, a scientist, mathematician, and student of Maryland history<sup>15</sup> touring England, saw "two considerable chests marked CALVERT PAPERS" among the possessions of the British Museum. Alexander thought "that they were an acquisition of the Establishment and would be shortly examined and reported upon thoroughly" and for this reason "made no particular inquiry about them."<sup>16</sup> Nothing came of these chests until 1858 when he returned to England in order to examine colonial records in search of materials relating to Maryland.<sup>17</sup> Remembering the chests he made a search for them. Working "under the disadvantage of there being not a single person left now in the employment of the Institution, who was connected then with the particular branch of its Service to which belongs the receipt and custody of such things," he finally concluded that they "were merely *in transitu*" when he had seen them, "having been probably offered by some party possessing them, but at such a price as precluded their purchase."<sup>18</sup>

Nothing more was heard of the mysterious papers until 1886 when Winslow Jones, by request of the Maryland Historical Society, submitted an inquiry to *Notes and*

<sup>12</sup> *George and Cecilius Calvert, Barons Baltimore of Baltimore* (New York, 1890), p. vi.

<sup>13</sup> Turner to [Mendes Cohen], July 31, 1889, Box 5, Maryland Historical Society Archives and Papers, MS. 2008 (hereafter cited as Md. Hist. Soc. Papers).

<sup>14</sup> W. M. Whitehill places the Calvert Papers first in the Society's "rich manuscript collection." *Independent Historical Societies: An Inquiry into Their Research and Publication Functions and Their Financial Future* (Boston, 1962), p. 165. See also Philip M. Hamer, ed., *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven, 1961), p. 224.

<sup>15</sup> For biographical information concerning Alexander consult *DAB*, I, pp. 168–169.

<sup>16</sup> Alexander, eds., *Index to the Calendar of Maryland State-Papers* (Baltimore, 1861), p. vii.

<sup>17</sup> E. Hammond to Alexander, June 22, 1858; G. M. Dallas to Earl of Malmesbury, Nov. 13, 1858; Malmesbury to Dallas, Nov. 29, 1858, Vertical File, Md. Hist. Soc. (hereafter cited as V.F.). See also *Report on Certain Documents Touching the Provincial History of Maryland; Addressed to His Excellency the Governor* (Baltimore, 1860).

<sup>18</sup> *Index*, p. vii.



*Queries*, stating that the Society was "anxious to ascertain whether these papers are still in existence, and if any one can give information respecting them."<sup>19</sup> The response to the query was disappointing at first. Less than a month later Richard Sims, a member of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum for 45 years, said that he had "no recollection of the 'two large chests' of Calvert Papers." Jones did note encouragingly, however, that Sims had "joined the Museum . . . in 1841, two years after the year referred to by Mr. Alexander."<sup>20</sup>

Shortly afterwards the report came that Colonel Harford, a retired officer of the British Army and a descendent of the illegitimate heir of the last Lord Baltimore,<sup>21</sup> had some papers of the Calvert family. Jones requested the Society to send a sum of money (to cover his expenses) and someone to look at the papers in Harford's possession. They dispatched £20 and authorized him to investigate.<sup>22</sup>

Jones proceeded to Col. Harford's residence, "Down Place," on May 1, where he spent three days going through the documents and arranging them. When he first saw them "they were in utter confusion, in one very large chest . . . without arrangement, and mixed up with family papers unconnected with the Province, and very many of both sets without endorsement." Describing their content, he said there was a "large mass of papers" about the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute and also "several papers relating to Maryland, comprizing the Journals of the Upper & Lower Houses of the Province, accounts, prints of acts & documents, and a variety of deeds letters & other papers." Jones sounded urgent with his account of how the papers were stored. They were in a chest that

has for some years been in an old orangery now used as a potting house & for garden purposes, and some signs of damp are on a few of the papers, so that, if the chest should remain for some years longer in its present place, the papers may be seriously injured.

Summing up his opinions, he said that the purchase of the papers "would be doubtless important" to the Society, "but I can form no opinion as to the money-value of the papers; there would scarcely, however, be much risk of competition." Again, Jones finished by emphasizing the importance of the Society sending someone.<sup>23</sup>

Luckily one of the corresponding members of the Society was then in England. David Richard Randall (1864–1936), who in 1886 had published *A Puritan Colony in*

<sup>19</sup> Seventh Series, II (Oct. 30, 1886), p. 348, Calvert Papers Correspondence, MS. 1969, MD. Hist. Soc. (hereafter referred to as Calvert Correspondence). Jones had in the past submitted notes and other materials about the Calvert family. *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Jones to Cohen, Nov. 6, 1886, Calvert Correspondence. This letter was read at the December 13 meeting of the Society. Minutes, IV, p. 361, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Harford (1760–1835) had been willed Maryland by his father (who died in 1771), but the Revolution disrupted his claims. He continued until the early nineteenth century to seek redress for his losses. Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 114–115.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes, Jan. 10, 1887, IV, pp. 370–371, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers.

<sup>23</sup> Jones to Cohen, May 3, 1887, Calvert Correspondence; Minutes, June 13, 1887, IV, p. 403, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers. Portions of this letter have been quoted in *Calvert Papers*, I, p. 26. Jones asked the Society to send someone, because he was not sure what sort of papers it would actually want to purchase.



Confirmation of Arms to Sir George Calvert. Calvert Papers, MS. 31.5. *Maryland Historical Society.*

*Maryland*, promptly looked at the papers. His report included the first list of the papers the Society had seen. According to Randall, Jones' description of the papers had been a "little faulty," but that the lawyers representing Col. Harford were "determined to make the collection as complete as possible."<sup>24</sup> Quekett, one of the lawyers (the other's name was Surnam), stated that for £5 he would obtain an expert who could make a complete list and forward it to the Society for their perusal.<sup>25</sup> Randall added two substantial items to the Society's knowledge. First, there were numerous additional papers "buried in a field adjoining" Harford's house. The second bit of news, which must have caused some comments among the Society's membership, was that Harford was "entirely without family pride and has never developed any historic bump, so that his aim is, I fear, a mercenary one."<sup>26</sup>

At least some members of the Society were optimistic even at this point. Mendes Cohen wrote to Quekett, after receiving Randall's correspondence, asking about the report of buried papers. The lawyer sadly responded that they are "lost beyond hope

<sup>24</sup> Randall to Cohen, Oct. 13, 1887, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; Quekett to Cohen, Dec. 10, 1887, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Randall to Cohen, Oct. 13, 1887, Calvert Correspondence. In a letter to Governor Letcher of Virginia, Feb. 2, 1861, Col. A. W. McDonald wrote that "I sought out the representative of the Baltimore family, and finally discovered him a prisoner for debt in the Queen's Bench prison, to which some twelve years since he had been transferred from the Fleet prison, after having been there confined more than eight years." *Calvert Papers*, I, pp. 29-30. This would explain why the Harfords had been trying to sell the papers in 1839.

of recovery, as we understood from our Client that they were buried some years ago.”<sup>27</sup> Cohen also at this time sought competent professional advice from W. Noël Sainsbury, editor of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series* from 1860 to his death in 1895. Sainsbury said that to determine the value “both historically & otherwise” could be done only after a “laborious examination and *comparison* with our papers in the P.R.O.,” he believed that perhaps one-half or even two-thirds were duplicated in the Public Record Office. He said the Society had two possibilities. It could buy the collection “en masse,” but he had no idea what the asking price would be; rather than wait for Col. Harford to name a price, the Society should suggest one. The other possibility would be to “ascertain . . . what gaps there are in the P.R.O. series of Maryland Colonial Papers,” and have copies of these made. This, however, would be very expensive requiring “scores of pounds to have done properly.” Sainsbury’s final suggestion was for the Society to buy the complete set of papers.<sup>28</sup>

Sainsbury’s letter was read at the next meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, and a committee of three was appointed to consult with the Pennsylvania Historical Society “as to an arrangement with it to secure the Papers in question, if they be found valuable, and for a proper division of them, if secured, between the two societies.”<sup>29</sup> The Pennsylvania Historical Society must have responded quickly<sup>30</sup> for by early April, John W. M. Lee, a member of the Maryland Historical Society committee, was preparing to go to England.<sup>31</sup>

Lee departed April 14 from New York, arrived in Liverpool on the 21st, and by April 25 was examining the papers.<sup>32</sup> His first report did not add much new information. He noted that the papers were “tied up in brown wrapping paper and were in no chronological order.” “In bulk [they were] enough to fill a good sized Saratoga Trunk.” He did add that the dates surprized him and that “the individual letters are numerous & important covering an almost unbroken period from 1638 to 1685.” Providing information for the Pennsylvania Historical Society, he noted that

<sup>27</sup> Quekett to Cohen, Jan. 6, 1888, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>28</sup> Sainsbury to Cohen, Jan. 28, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Minutes, Feb. 13, 1888, IV, p. 429, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers. Mendes Cohen was appointed as the chairman, with John W. M. Lee and F. W. Story completing the committee. Cohen (1831–1915) served for twenty-one years as the corresponding secretary of the Society and later was its President. *DAB*, III, pp. 275–276. Lee was the Society’s Curator of the Cabinet and Librarian from 1877 to 1892.

The reason the Pennsylvania Historical Society was offered the chance to buy some of the papers probably was from the concern of the Maryland Historical Society about the possible price. The number of papers pertaining to Pennsylvania made its Society a logical choice to share the expense. Randall, for example, had thought that there were “(Roughly) twenty-letters of W<sup>m</sup> Penn.”

<sup>30</sup> This Society appeared extremely eager. The day before Lee boarded the steamship *Etruria* in New York, one of the members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society approached him. Lee warned him to “keep their hand off.” This Society was apparently most interested in the Penn letters, and Lee was probably afraid Col. Harford would become impatient and try to sell the collection elsewhere. Lee reassured the agent that he “would place [the Pennsylvania Historical Society] in a position to purchase” if the Maryland Historical Society did not buy. Lee to Cohen, April 13, 1888, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>31</sup> Lee to Cohen, April 3, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Lee to Cohen, April 25, 1888, Calvert Correspondence. Additional information concerning these activities is contained in a report Lee presented to Cohen in November 1888. This report will be cited as Nov. 1888.



Calvert, Lord Baltimore. *Maryland Historical Society*.

there were "about 300" papers concerning the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary controversy.<sup>33</sup>

Lee carefully went through each bundle of papers and made as complete a list as he could. Four days after he started, he sent the first list, containing papers up to about 1700, back to Baltimore. "Some are duplicate but there is a goodly number entirely new to us. The papers subsequent to 1700 contain many letters & documents not in our series."<sup>34</sup> Several days later Lee sent another list with documents after 1700. By this time he was convinced of the extraordinary value of the collection. He noted that "the other printed tracts & Journals of Assembly are lacking in our set—and the 13 duplicates I feel [should] yield us \$100—from the Library of Congress."<sup>35</sup> The Society wanted these papers; the only remaining obstacle was the price.

Earlier Lee had reported that Col. Harford was seeking £250; Lee had told Harford's lawyers that he was not authorized to go above £100. As an aside he remarked to his constituents that this "would be a great bargain."<sup>36</sup> A week later he still hoped that this would be the price:

<sup>33</sup> Lee to Cohen, April 25, 1888, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>34</sup> Lee to Cohen, April 28, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Lee to Cohen, May 2, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Lee to Cohen, April 28, 1888, *ibid.*

I have seen Mr. S. & Q. [Harford's lawyers] think the tenacity with which I stuck to the £100-limit and my showing how much there was that would duplicate—and the views of Mr. Jones, that they were only useful to us and none others, will throw the weight on our side—Still it may be they will split the difference—in that case should there be no chance of bearing the price down I would say accept.<sup>37</sup>

On May 14 Lee wired home that they might get the papers for £150.<sup>38</sup> The next day, however, he wired that Harford “may take out important papers and present balance except we give two hundred fifty pounds;” Lee advised that they accept Harford's asking price.<sup>39</sup> Apparently negotiations were at a standstill for a while. Then on May 21, Mendes Cohen sent two telegrams. The first one stated that the Society would pay as much as £225, but asked him to try to “secure them as low as possible.” The second telegram was sent to J. S. Morgan and Company, who were handling the exchange of monies. It stated (in code) for them to pay to Lee “on application” £250 or less.<sup>40</sup> Again matters were at a standstill until May 26 when Lee wrote:

I had urged my point of 200£ so strong before that I really was afraid to urge it any further—lest I should make a mistake. I did however mildly hint to them that my friends thought 200£ was ample, in view of the expense [sic] they had already undergone & would have to undergo before the papers would be fully in our possession, but it had no effect. So I ended the matter by saying I would take the whole collection at 225£.<sup>41</sup>

On April 29 the final part of the money was paid to Harford, and the papers were in the ownership of the Society.<sup>42</sup>

On that day Lee wired exultantly to Baltimore: “I feel we have received a important collection & miserably cheap.”<sup>43</sup> Lee was certainly correct. The Calvert Papers only cost \$1,589.33 altogether. \$1,102.50 (£225) covered the actual cost of the papers, while the rest was for Lee's roundtrip fare, freight charges for transport of the papers home, and the remainder for insurance. This money, all except \$4.33, had been successfully raised by subscriptions from the Society's members.<sup>44</sup>

Lee left London June 2, arrived in New York on the 10th, and the next day the papers were secure in Baltimore in the Society's fire proof vault.<sup>45</sup>

By October Lee had prepared a complete calendar of the papers,<sup>46</sup> and in

<sup>37</sup> Lee to Cohen, May 2, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Lee to Cohen, Western Union, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Lee to Cohen, May 15, 1888, Western Union, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> This information is contained in a letter from Robert Garrett, son of Robert Garrett the investment banker who had helped handle the financial transactions, to James W. Foster, April 27, 1943, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Lee to Cohen, May 26, 1888, *ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> The Pennsylvania Historical Society had withdrawn from the matter when Lee cabled to Cohen on May 28 that there were only five Penn letters and that Randall had been mistaken.

<sup>43</sup> Lee to Cohen, May 29, 1888, Western Union, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>44</sup> This information is in a folder in the vertical file that has various bills and financial material relating to the purchase.

<sup>45</sup> Nov. 1888, pp. 2–3; Minutes, June 11, 1888, IV, p. 453, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers.

<sup>46</sup> Minutes, Oct. 8, 1888, IV, p. 256.



Mendes Cohen, 1831–1915. *Maryland Historical Society.*

November he gave his final report to the Calvert committee. On December 10, 1888, the papers were formally presented to the public with Judge Ritchie, President John H. B. Latrobe, Mendes Cohen, and Dr. William Hand Browne, editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, giving addresses.<sup>47</sup> But the story of the papers was far from over.

Mendes Cohen in his address stated that “the papers we have are so complete in some particulars, whilst lacking in others where we are pretty sure that the proprietors had received full reports from the Colony, that we cannot but feel that the chest supposed to have been buried may well have contained just what we find wanting.”<sup>48</sup> Despite Quekett’s earlier communication that these buried papers were irretrievably lost, there still remained some hope for their recovery. Lee in fact had gotten Col. Harford to agree that any other papers found would be forwarded to the Maryland Historical Society;<sup>49</sup> legally, at least, the Society also owned these papers.

<sup>47</sup> *Calvert Papers*, I, pp. 9–38. The papers were also presented to the public in the form of two publications, one in 1889 and one in 1894, with selections from the collection.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>49</sup> Nov. 1888, p. 4, Calvert Correspondence.

To investigate further into this matter, Julian LeRoy White, a member of the Society, was given authority to search for the lost documents.<sup>50</sup> In July 1889 White lunched with Col. Harford and discussed the buried papers:

He rents Down Place sometimes. These papers (three or four cases he says) were much in the way and one day the butler said to him—"what shall we do with these," "Burn them" he answered, and thought no more about it—Later on some months I believe, he happened to ask the butler about the papers, and was told that they had been buried in a rubbish heap. . . .

Harford showed this "rubbish heap" to White and told him he could dig there if he wished and even promised the aid of two workmen. Before digging got underway, White tried to contact Keep, the butler who had buried them, to point out the "exact spot." Keep would not go to "Down Place" because he had "left in disgrace," and White was not optimistic about the chances of recovery. "I give you that for what it may be worth," White wrote, "they were buried without any chest or other protection [so Keep had informed him], so that there is great doubt whether there will be anything left." He had not completely given up, however. "I shall not abandon all hope until I have cut trenches across the places where the documents might be."<sup>51</sup>

By early August, White had ended the search. He had managed to persuade Keep to come to "Down Place," but the butler had had trouble identifying the location of the site "the refuse heap having grown since the time that he had buried them (8 years ago about)."

We dug all that day through all that part of the heap which might possibly, according to the butler, contain the Papers—We went down to water almost, and found nothing except some enormous worms—almost the size of small eels—If there were papers there the damp could not have failed to destroy them.<sup>52</sup>

The buried papers were given up as totally lost.

But the Society did not stop trying to find more papers concerning the Calverts from other sources. If nothing else, the purchase of Col. Harford's papers had excited interest in further acquisitions. In 1894, for example, the Society purchased a small group of very early seventeenth century documents relating to the Calverts.<sup>53</sup> In 1909, the original parchment of the 1649 act of religious toleration was presented to the Society.<sup>54</sup> In 1930, it purchased in an London auction the marriage settlement of Lady

<sup>50</sup> He was also to inquire into another matter. Lt. Col. George H. Verney had written to the Society on March 25, 1889. His family name had at one time been Calvert, and he wanted information on the Calvert pedigree and also offered to allow the Society to examine his notes and papers "with reference to the 1st Lord Baltimore & his connection with Maryland." The vertical file has a set of notes prepared for Mr. White concerning both the Verney and Calvert papers.

<sup>51</sup> White to Cohen, July 13, 1889, Calvert Correspondence.

<sup>52</sup> White to Cohen, August 2, 1889, Calvert Correspondence. His mission ended in total failure. He brought back the Verney papers, and the committee reported that "there is but little relating to the Baltimores, which is not already known to the Maryland Historical Society." There is a seven page description of their content in the vertical file.

<sup>53</sup> For an account of this and the publication of the documents see *The Calvert Papers: Number Three*, Fund Publication 35, Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, 1899).

<sup>54</sup> Reported in the *Baltimore American*, Oct. 13, 1909. Newsclippings, Box 1, Md. Hist. Soc. Papers. The first page of this document is now hanging in the museum of the Society.

Diana Egerton to Frederick, the last of the Lords Baltimore.<sup>55</sup> Both of the last two documents were incorporated into the original collection.

In the first half century of their residence at the Maryland Historical Society, the Calvert Papers were considerably utilized by both scholars and the general public. Indicative of their use (and value) was the typescript indexes compiled for the rent rolls, a name index for the entire collection, and a number system assigned to facilitate easier location and reference to individual manuscripts.<sup>56</sup> The papers were also carefully examined for the publication of the *Archives of Maryland*.<sup>57</sup> Because of such usage, the manuscripts began to show signs of wear. They had never been repaired or given any kind of special treatment despite the knowledge that many of them had been in poor condition at the time of the original purchase.

A half-century after their purchase, restoration work was finally begun on the papers. For at least a quarter of a century before that many of the manuscript collections of the Society had been restored.<sup>58</sup> What curtailed similar work on the Calvert papers was the expense required for such a large collection. In the mid-1940s the situation changed. James W. Foster, Director of the Society, wrote to the Maryland branch of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots in 1946.<sup>59</sup> He stated that "nearly all [of the papers in this collection] need restoration." "Broken at the folds and badly wrinkled, some of these documents will not survive much more handling." He added that "if the National Society, Daughters of Founders and Patriots, should find it appropriate to undertake the restoration of some of these papers, the Society would perform a service of the highest value, not only for Maryland, but for the nation as well."<sup>60</sup>

The Maryland branch of this organization quickly responded by purchasing a metal case for the papers.<sup>61</sup> A few days later Mr. Foster received a letter from Mrs. J. Wendall Kimball, National Chairman of the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, stating that not only would they be interested in funding a restoration of the few selected papers Mr. Foster had listed (as an example of the poor condition of the

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<sup>55</sup> "Annual Meeting," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXVI (March, 1931), p. 69.

<sup>56</sup> The number system was probably developed by Lee. The indexes were done by Dr. Christopher Johnston (1856-1914), a practicing physician and a professor of Oriental Languages at the Johns Hopkins University. Johnston's main interest was geneology, and he contributed a number of articles on this subject to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

<sup>57</sup> Lee had added a postscript to his letter to Cohen on April 28, 1888: "Tell Dr. Browne there are some Sharpe letters apparently not represented in our series." Browne replied to Cohen shortly afterward (letter undated) that "I haven't my calendar of the Sharpe letters here, so cannot say if any lacking in our papers. I shall make the most of the dupls. by printing from the originals instead of the copies in Sharpe's letter Bk and marking them 'original Calvert Papers' in margin." See volume IX of the *Archives of Maryland*, the second volume of Sharpe's correspondence, for Browne's usage of the papers.

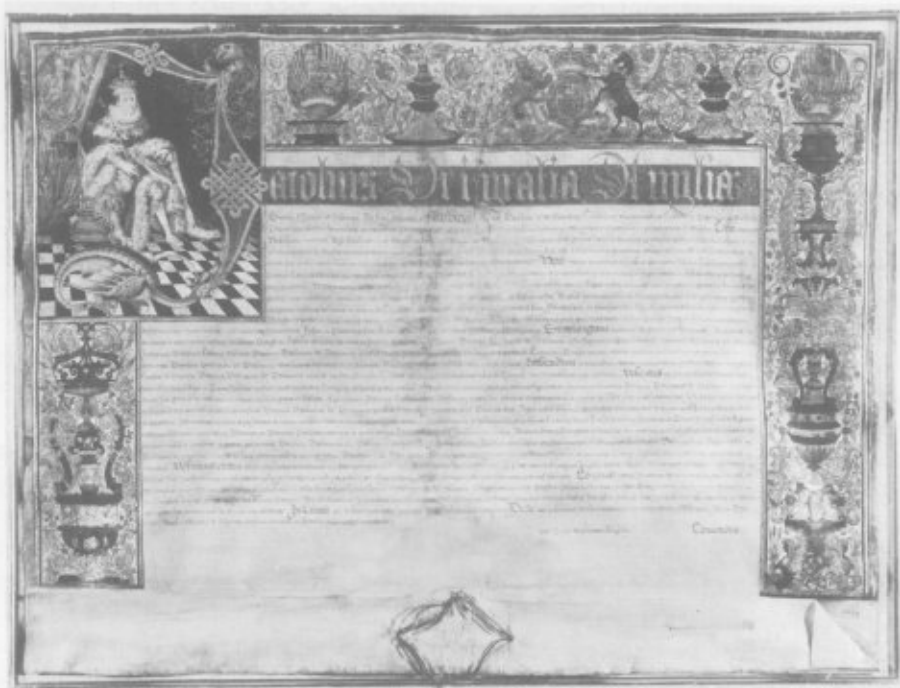
<sup>58</sup> See, for example, "Annual Meeting," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXIII (March, 1928), pp. 61-62, and XXIX (March, 1934), p. 57.

<sup>59</sup> According to Mrs. J. Edward Duker (from a conversation with her on April 3, 1973), Mr. Foster had approached her with the idea of doing such a project. She suggested he write a letter which she could present to the national group.

<sup>60</sup> Foster to Duker, Oct. 16, 1946, V.F.

<sup>61</sup> Duker to Foster, Nov. 22, 1946, V.F.





Patent of Nobility. Calvert Papers, MS. 38. *Maryland Historical Society*.

papers and the projected cost for repair), but there was a possibility that this "might" be their fiftieth anniversary project, meaning money to do the complete collection.<sup>62</sup>

While the project was being organized so that more complete cost estimates could be given the DFPA, another development occurred. Morris L. Radoff, archivist of the Maryland Hall of Records at Annapolis, generously offered the services of one of his workers, Bessie Moss, and the facilities of the Hall of Records. Mrs. Moss could work on the project "several evenings a week until the job was done."<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile, the Maryland Historical Society had decided against the lamination process Mrs. Moss employed and opted for the crepline, or silking, method. "In the past," Mr. Foster wrote, "only the silking has been used here, for of course the laminating method is only 5 or 6 years old. An English expert [in a recent article] calls with question the advisability of laminating rare papers, until a longer period of trial is past. As he says, can we be sure that the chemicals will not change color."<sup>64</sup> This decision created two

<sup>62</sup> Kimball to Foster, Nov. 25, 1946, V.F.

<sup>63</sup> Radoff to Foster, Nov. 26, 1946, V.F.

<sup>64</sup> Foster to Kimball, Dec. 6, 1946, V.F. Mr. Radoff was following W. J. Barrow's advice, who wrote that "many archivists have reported that the silk usually deteriorates within eighteen to twenty-five years to such an extent that the documents must be again restored. Documents thus treated are still susceptible to attack by micro-organisms and insects, the acidity of the paper is increased by alum in the paste, and the deterioration of the silk will adversely affect the paper." "Restoration Methods," *American Archivist*, VI (July 1943), p. 152. Barrow's observations have proved correct.

problems. First, it caused the loss of the experience of Mrs. Moss, who dropped from the project. By silking the papers, the project would take "around two years," and the "lamination job would not have taken over a month or six weeks."<sup>65</sup> The second, and more serious, problem was that the silking process drastically increased the cost of the project. The right silk, for instance, had tripled in cost in recent years and also proved difficult to procure in a large enough quantity (probably due to the war).<sup>66</sup>

The DFPA approved the project despite these difficulties. The restoration was to be their fiftieth anniversary project (thus, to be completed in 1948). The organization provided \$5000, a figure which Mr. Foster had suggested after the plans for silking had been more fully developed.<sup>67</sup> The DFPA financed the project through subscriptions from individuals and various state chapters and required over a year to raise the entire sum.<sup>68</sup> The actual restoration finally started in early December, 1947.<sup>69</sup> Work continued steadily, barring a few interruptions, until 1956 when the project was completed.<sup>70</sup>

Through largely private initiative and funding, and a display of Jeremy Belknap's type of aggressiveness, the Calvert Papers have been procured, organized, many of them published, and nearly all of them restored. Even now the story of the papers has not ended. In 1972, the National Historical Publications Commission of the National Archives funded a project to microfilm the complete collection. In many ways this is the most promising stage of the Calvert Papers' history. As a result of this project the collection has been better organized (the first reorganization since John W. M. Lee's of 1888)<sup>71</sup> and will be more accessible to scholars and the general public. This microfilm may be purchased for \$10 a reel or obtained through inter-library loan from the Maryland Historical Society. It will also guarantee the safety of the original manuscripts by enabling them to be retired from usage.<sup>72</sup>

It is hoped that this microfilm edition of the Calvert Papers will inspire new scholarship concerning the Calvert family. It is a sad fact that though these papers have been held by the Maryland Historical Society for almost a century, there has not been a major study published on any of the individual Calverts or the family since William Hand Browne's in 1890.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Radoff to Foster, April 10, 1947, V.F.

<sup>66</sup> Foster to Kimball, Dec. 6, 1946; Foster to Mrs. Edmund Burke Ball, Dec. 27, 1946; Foster to Duker, Jan. 27, 1947, V.F.

<sup>67</sup> Duker to Foster, Jan. 29, 1947; Virginia A. Nelson to Foster, Feb. 12, 1947; Kimball to Foster, Feb. 14, 1947; Foster to Nelson, Feb. 27, 1947, V.F.

<sup>68</sup> Kimball to Foster, March 5, 1947 and June 7, 1947; Foster to Kimball, June 11, 1947; Kimball to Foster, April 28, 1948; Foster to Kimball, May 18, 1948, V.F.

<sup>69</sup> Foster to Kimball, Dec. 2, 1947, V.F.

<sup>70</sup> Francis C. Haber to Mrs. Leroy Millikan, May 28, 1956, V.F.

<sup>71</sup> The pamphlet to the microfilm edition has a detailed discussion concerning this.

<sup>72</sup> Nancy G. Boles, "Microfilming—A Safeguard for Manuscripts," *Md. Hist. Mag.* LXVII (Spring, 1972), pp. 63–65.

<sup>73</sup> James W. Foster was in the process of writing a biography of Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, when he died in 1962.

# Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay

RUSSELL R. MENARD

FOR STUDENTS OF the colonial South, the publication of Professor Craven's James L. Richard Lectures in History, delivered at the University of Virginia in 1970, is an important event.<sup>1</sup> In three masterful essays Craven examines the lives of Englishmen, Indians, and Africans in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. The book is gracefully written, full of insight on race relations and the contact and conflict between three radically different cultural groups living together in a frontier setting. The essays contain the seeds of several potential doctoral dissertations; students should be inspired to carry some of the ideas further or be provoked to attempt rebuttal. The entire book certainly merits the careful consideration of anyone interested in the Chesapeake colonies. Its centerpiece is the discussion of the character, pace, and volume of European immigration to the tobacco coast. Since the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was predominantly a society of immigrants and since Craven's understanding of the pattern of immigration differs from that of other historians, his comments deserve particularly close scrutiny.

Professor Craven's principal source is the record of headright grants, originally kept by the clerks of the Virginia land office but now at the State Library in Richmond. His method is a simple one. He counted all the grants of headrights and displayed the results in an annual series. He then assumed that the data provided a fairly reliable description of the pattern of immigration and tried to account for the fluctuations by reference to basic processes that shaped the lives of immigrants in England and their futures in the colonies. Finally, he offers an assessment of the impact of immigration on the politics, social structure, and demography of the Chesapeake region.

Unfortunately, as Edmund S. Morgan has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the assumption that the

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<sup>1</sup> Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth Century Virginian* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1971. Pp. vi, 114, \$5.75.)

<sup>2</sup> "Headrights and Head Counts: A Review Article," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXX (1972), 361-71.

record of headright grants provides an adequate guide to the pattern of immigration is questionable. A brief description of the headright system as it operated, with some minor variations, in both Maryland and Virginia will illustrate the problem. A right to land was granted for every immigrant to the colonies, the gift going to whoever paid the immigrant's passage. It must be emphasized that the headright was not a grant of land, but a grant of a right to land. If the owner of a headright wished to use it to acquire a tract, he had to locate the land and pay surveyor's and clerk's fees to have it laid out and patented. Many immigrants chose not to use their rights and sold them, often to a dealer with a large-scale brokerage operation. Headrights soon became a commodity traded in an open market. As a result, the granting of land was not as closely tied to immigration as the creators of the system planned or as Professor Craven assumed. This result was in the interest of colonial officials. Quit rents, surveying, and the clerical fees associated with the granting of land were an important source of their revenue. A policy that placed artificial restraints on the distribution of land would limit income. Virginia officials overlooked abuses such as multiple headright claims for a single colonist or the invention of purely fictitious settlers. Most of these abuses were avoided in Maryland, but the Proprietor achieved the same result by giving land warrants to men he wished to reward.

The separation of the system of land distribution from the rate of immigration underscores the most serious limitation of the Virginia headright entries. In the Virginia records the headright appears in the land patent and no information is provided on when the settler for whom the right was claimed actually arrived. The gap between a settler's arrival and the appearance of his name in a patent was often a long one. The Virginia headright entries are a direct measure of the rate at which land was patented, not of immigration. Since immigration was not the only factor controlling the demand for land, the rate at which headrights were used can mislead the historian, particularly if his interest is in short-term trends.

Despite the inadequacies of his principal source, Professor Craven's interpretation of the pattern of immigration stands up well against other evidence. He is aware of many of the limitations of the data and the reader is warned against using it carelessly. He does not attempt to use the headrights as a measure of annual changes in the rate of immigration and he should not be taken to task if the data are misleading on that account. Rather, Professor Craven's concern is to describe long-term trends and to provide a rough measure of the total volume of immigration. His two major conclusions are challenging and, I believe, quite accurate. First, he argues that immigration to the Chesapeake colonies was heavily concentrated in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. One might want to add some qualifications. A more precise timing would probably push its beginning back to the late 1640s and its end up to 1680, and note that it was interrupted several times, severely in the mid-1660s, less so in the mid-50s and early 70s. Two years outside of the period, 1635 and 1699, may have witnessed the arrival of more new settlers than any single year between 1650 and 1675. Still, the annual average was almost certainly higher in the third quarter than in any other period of comparable length in the century. As Professor Craven notes,

this has important implications. It raises questions about explanations of late seventeenth-century events based on what might be expected of native colonials. It has significant implications for the interpretation of such major political disorders as Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and the Revolution of 1689 in Maryland. It also suggests that the Chesapeake economy was not as severely depressed in the 1660s and 70s as most historians have argued. Secondly, Craven contends that the population of Virginia in 1700 was at best only equal to the total number of immigrants in the seventeenth century, suggesting that the demographic experience of the tobacco coast was radically different from that of New England. Explaining with precision why this was true—and here Professor Craven offers some compelling insights—is a major task confronting colonial demographers.

Perhaps more important than any specific conclusions is Craven's insistence that precise knowledge of the characteristics of the immigrant group and of fluctuations in the rate of immigration is essential to an understanding of the colonial Chesapeake. Partially in response to Craven's essay, I have spent the past several months trying to measure Chesapeake immigration patterns. Because this is an enormous task, more than one historian can handle, I would like to describe some of the sources available for the study of immigration and to suggest a framework that may prove helpful in interpreting the data. These comments, I hope, will encourage other Chesapeake historians to contribute to the effort.

The first need is better evidence. It is probably impossible to develop precise measures of the total volume of immigration, but rough estimates can be constructed, annual variations in the rate identified, and shifts in the composition of the immigrant group described from a variety of sources. Probate inventories, for example, provide evidence of the proportion of servants and slaves in the population and of the age, sex, and ethnic structure of the unfree labor force. Servants arriving in the Chesapeake without indentures had their service period determined in the county courts. The resulting record serves as a good guide to annual variations in the rate of immigration and to changes in the composition of the servant group. The lists of emigrants kept irregularly in several English ports—London in the mid-1630s and mid-80s, Bristol from the mid-50s to 1680, and Liverpool at the turn of the century, for example—contain detailed information on thousands of young men and women who left for the colonies as servants. Since the lists include servants bound for all the colonies, they offer the historian an opportunity to place Chesapeake immigrants in a broader context.

Maryland headright entries often contain evidence of the settler's actual date of arrival and provide a fairly reliable guide to the pattern of immigration. The headright claims kept by the Virginia county courts, in contrast to those kept by the land office which Professor Craven used, also frequently include arrival information. In addition both the Maryland and the Virginia county headright records provide useful data on the composition of the immigrant population. It is often possible to learn whether the settler arrived as a servant or a free man, alone or in a family unit, and from what port he sailed. Neither headright series is comprehensive, but by compar-

ing the entries to independent lists of immigrants (the record of servants whose service period was determined by the county courts, for example) it is possible to develop estimates of the proportion omitted and convert the headright entries into rough measures of total volume.

Standard measures of population growth—militia lists, the few surviving censuses, and most important, taxable figures—can also be used with profit by the student of immigration. The peculiar demographic characteristics of the Chesapeake colonies make such data even more useful. Craven suggests that Virginia did not experience natural population increase during the seventeenth century and may even have suffered a net natural decline. Evidence on family size gathered from Maryland wills confirms his suggestion. High mortality and the predominance of males among immigrants ensured that deaths would outnumber births during most of the seventeenth century. Not until about 1690 in the older counties on the Western Shore and the first decade of the eighteenth century in the later settled regions does Maryland's population show evidence of increase by natural means. Given a naturally declining population, taxable figures become a sensitive guide to the pattern of immigration.

In attempting to account for the pattern of European migration to the Chesapeake, Craven emphasizes the individual servant's choice and chastizes with some justice those historians who have treated indentured labor as a mere commodity. This emphasis leads Craven to focus on conditions in England—bad harvests, political unrest, religious persecution—that could produce a decision to emigrate and on the opportunities available that might cause an emigrant to choose the Chesapeake. In their own eyes, of courses, servants were young men and women with hopes and aspirations who doubtless viewed emigration as an opportunity to advance their careers. To the merchant who financed the immigration, however, servants were not only young people with aspirations, but major investment opportunities. The evidence so far uncovered suggests that the merchant's assessment of the possibility of turning a profit in tobacco was a more important regulator of Chesapeake immigration patterns than the career decisions of potential indentured servants. When the price of tobacco was high, merchants actively recruited servants and produced a boom in immigration. When tobacco was low, they were reluctant to invest in labor and the rate of immigration declined.

No attempt to prove this assertion will be made here, but some suggestive evidence is offered in Table I. The table compares the numbers of servants brought into court in Charles County, Maryland, and Northumberland County, Virginia, with the price of tobacco reported in estate inventories. The number of servants registered fell off sharply going into the depression of 1666–67, increased with the recovery of the late 1660s, declined slightly during the recession of the early 70s, and rose again with the brief boom of the late 1670s. Tobacco prices were generally depressed from 1680 to 1706 and few servants were brought into the courts. However, at both times when the price of tobacco showed substantial improvement, in the mid-1680s and at the turn of the century, the number of servants moved sharply upward. If the interpretation offered here is accurate, immigration should also move with the price of

TABLE 1

Servants Imported into Charles and Northumberland Counties and the Price of Tobacco in pence sterling per pound, 1662-1706.<sup>4</sup>

Year	Number of Servants	Price of Tobacco	Year	Number of Servants	Price of Tobacco
1662	31	1.60	1685	25	1.00
1663	32	1.55	1686	48	1.00
1664	59	1.35	1687	22	.85
1665	31	1.10	1688	8	.75
1666	3	.90	1689	6	.70
1667	14	1.10	1690	8	.80
1668	46	1.25	1691	6	.80
1669	55	1.15	1692	4	.80
1670	60	1.15	1693	11	.75
1671	24	1.05	1694	20	.75
1672	39	1.00	1695	3	.75
1673	30	1.00	1696	12	.85
1674	47	1.00	1697	20	.90
1675	39	1.00	1698	92	1.00
1676	69	1.05	1699	148	1.05
1677	37	1.15	1700	38	1.00
1678	45	1.15	1701	22	.95
1679	53	1.05	1702	16	1.00
1680	24	1.00	1703	4	.85
1681	17	.90	1704	3	.90
1682	44	.80	1705	7	.80
1683	7	.80	1706	10	.80
1684	3	.80			

<sup>4</sup>Charles County Court and Land Records, Maryland Hall of Records; Northumberland County Court Order Books, Virginia State Library; Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVX111 (1973), 80-85.

tobacco before and after the period covered by the table. That is, peaks in immigration should be found in the early 1620s, the mid-30s, from about 1648 to 1654, around 1660, and just prior to 1720, all boom years in the Chesapeake economy. The rate of immigration should be low from about 1625 to 1633, 1638 to 1647, 1706 to about 1715, and from the mid-1720s to the early 30s. There should also be a slight decline in immigration during the minor recession that followed the first Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>3</sup> It should be admitted that the evidence for such a pattern has not all been gathered yet, and it is offered here as a prediction of the results of future research rather than as

<sup>3</sup>Fluctuations in the Chesapeake economy have been charted by Lewis C. Gray, *The History of Agriculture in the Southern United States* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1932), 1, 259-73, and by yet unpublished work conducted by the St. Mary's City Commission under my direction. Unfortunately, the data available are not yet precise enough to permit a discussion of the question of time lags between price changes in the Chesapeake and a response by the mercantile community. However, English merchants who were thoroughly familiar with the European tobacco market apparently were able to anticipate changes in the Chesapeake with a high degree of accuracy.



established fact. On the other hand, none of the data so far collected contradicts the argument and enough is at hand to raise the prediction above the level of an educated guess. The available data indicate that the decisions of merchants to invest in tobacco production during good times and to retrench during depressions were the most important regulator of the pattern of immigration to the Chesapeake.

The relationship between tobacco prices and immigration can be carried a step further. Merchants and planters responded to high prices by expanding production through investment in labor. However, the new servants soon produced more tobacco than the market would bear and drove the price down. During the period of low prices the rate of immigration declined. Production, however, did not usually decline with falling prices. Labor was what economists call immobile in the Chesapeake colonies. There were few alternatives to tobacco production and even after becoming free, former servants continued to grow the staple as free laborers, tenant farmers, or small landowning planters. While the price was low the market for Chesapeake tobacco expanded as it became competitive with poorer quality leaf grown elsewhere and more people found they could afford to use it. Rising demand then pulled the price up, merchants invested in labor to expand production, immigration increased, and the cycle repeated itself. Admittedly, this is highly speculative, but it seems a fruitful line of inquiry.

Is it possible to reconcile the tendency for immigration to move with the price of tobacco with Craven's insistence that servants should not be considered mere commodities? Perhaps, but it is first necessary to expand our vision beyond the Chesapeake. The young Englishman who found life at home constricting, who wanted more opportunity, who thirsted for adventure or simply a change of scene had a number of options. He could try the Chesapeake, of course, but if the merchants were reluctant there were other choices. He could go to the West Indies, New England, Pennsylvania, or the Carolinas. He could join the army or navy. If he lived in a village he could go to a town. And there was always London, a serious competitor of the colonies for immigrants. If, on the other hand, a young man was anxious to move at a time when tobacco merchants were actively seeking servants, it is easy to understand why he might end up in the Chesapeake, enticed by the opportunities vividly described by a recruiting agent.

The number of young men and women willing to leave England for the Chesapeake was not constant. Good harvests, employment opportunities at home, an expansion of the army or navy, the opening of new colonies, rising wages in London, or news of declining opportunity along the tobacco coast could make potential servants reluctant to sail for Virginia or Maryland. How were merchants able to meet their labor requirements when good times in the Chesapeake did not coincide with a willingness on the part of young English men and women to immigrate? Whenever they could, merchants recruited servants from the middling ranks of English families. However, when such servants proved in short supply the evidence suggests that merchants extended their recruiting efforts further down into the social structure—to the Irish, the criminal and the laboring poor—to meet the demand for labor. When servants



proved difficult to obtain, merchants could also turn to slaves who were not permitted to choose whether or not they would immigrate.

Interpreting the pattern of immigration as a function of the merchant community's perception of investment opportunities does not answer all the questions posed by the subject. It reveals little about the motivations of individual adventurers, for example, while shifts in the age, sex, and ethnic composition of the immigrant group are probably best explained by processes only indirectly related to Chesapeake trade cycles. It does not account for the men and women who paid their own passage, a relatively small but still significant element in the migration. Nor is it possible to explain the relative intensity of peaks and troughs in the pattern of immigration simply by reference to the price of tobacco. Despite these limitations the hypothesis can bring order to a massive amount of data spanning at least a century of colonial history. It is a good starting point.

# Notes on Maryland Historical Society Manuscript Collections

BARBARA S. MURRAY, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts

The Archer-Mitchell-Stump-Williams Family Papers (MS. 1948)

**T**HROUGH THE GENEROSITY of Mrs. Lewis J. Williams, the Maryland Historical Society has been enriched by the gift of a large quantity of papers relating to Harford and Cecil Counties, Maryland. The collection is made up chiefly of papers of prominent, intermarried Harford and Cecil County families, primarily Archers, Mitchells, Stumps, and Williams. This gift includes material dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, but primarily centering in the nineteenth century.

Included in this collection are the papers of several prominent Marylanders such as Congressmen, Maryland legislators, and Maryland judges. For example, the papers of George Edward Mitchell (1781-1832) are housed in the collection. George E. Mitchell was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates in 1808; from 1809 to 1812 he was a member of the State Executive Council. After taking a distinguished part in the War of 1812, he was presented with a sword by the Maryland General Assembly. Between 1822-1832 he was a Democratic member of Congress for all but one term. In 1829 he was an unsuccessful candidate for governor of Maryland. Included in his papers are rough drafts on his Congressional resolution to invite Lafayette to visit the United States, a manuscript biography of Mitchell, and correspondence about the plans for the Washington Monument, including a letter from John Quincy Adams and a letter from Robert Mills, the architect, submitting a suggestion for such a monument. Also included are many general letters from Mitchell's constituents relating to the political feelings of Marylanders, requests for appointments and assistance, etc.

Another prominent individual whose papers are represented in this collection is Stevenson Archer (1786-1848) who was several times elected to Congress. In 1817 he was appointed a judge of the Mississippi Territory and was appointed Chief Judge of the Sixth Judicial District of Maryland (Baltimore and Harford counties) in 1824. Finally in 1844 Archer was named Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals. His papers include letters to his wife Pamela Hays Archer and his daughter Harriet Archer, written from Washington and Annapolis. These letters discuss his attitudes

towards political life but seldom mention his work except in a cursory way. One letter of 1817 from Fort Claiborn discusses his travels through the Creek nation.

The papers of Judge Frederick Stump (1835–1901), Associate Judge of the Circuit Court for Caroline, Talbot, Queen Annes, Kent and Cecil Counties, are also found in the collection. Judge Stump's papers include legal opinions and notes in regard to cases in his district.

Aside from the papers of prominent Marylanders, this collection also contains numerous family and personal papers that shed light on various genealogical, social, economic, religious, educational, and political issues. The Anderson-Cortlandt family correspondence found in the collection, for example, includes some discussion of the conditions of Maryland and New York during the Revolutionary War. The papers of James Archer (1799–1815) deal with the pro-war feelings of the Mississippi Territory before the War of 1812. Letters of Mary Alicia Mitchell Stump, daughter of George E. Mitchell, and Harriet Archer Williams, daughter of Stevenson Archer, include discussions of religion, especially Presbyterianism, and also reflect general life in Cecil and Harford Counties during the nineteenth century. Educational conditions in Maryland are reflected in school reports, many letters from school children, letters from teachers, etc. Correspondence during the Civil War period generally



Stevenson Archer. *Maryland Historical Society.*

indicate attitudes towards the Civil War, Southern relatives, rising prices, and so forth.

Of particular interest are the papers of Dr. Lewis J. Williams (1819–1888), a Navy Surgeon who served under Commodore Perry during the Japan expedition. His papers include letters, mainly between 1842–1858, dealing with trips taken as a Navy Surgeon to such places as Mexico, Africa, China, Japan, and Panama. Letters to his father William Williams and his wife Harriet Archer Williams include detailed descriptions of the geography, crops, types of people, customs, and government of the areas he visited. Included in his letters are discussions of St. Thomas, the political system of Venezuela, U. S. Negotiations with Mexico, the power of Santa Anna, and the Haitian government after the abdication of Boyer. Also available are many letters describing the colony of Monrovia before and after the independence of the Republic of Liberia was declared, as well as letters describing Dr. William's early impressions of China and Japan. Also of note are Dr. William's papers regarding the appointment of Medical Inspector Wales as Surgeon General and attempts at reform in Naval Medical Corps appointments.

Economic historians will be interested in the seven boxes of account books and day-books found in this collection, dating from 1786–1850. These deal with the Baltimore area and are chiefly concerned with flour milling. Mills mentioned include Salisbury Mills, Harford Mills, and Rock Run Mills. Account books also deal with the shipping of bar iron, general merchandizing, and the sale of fish. Many are apparently accounts kept by and/or relating to John Stump of Baltimore, later of Cecil County.

Land deeds of Harford, Cecil, and Dorchester Counties, as well as the town of Cambridge, are found scattered throughout the collection. Other miscellaneous items of interest include papers relating to the purchase of the Perryville Presbyterian Church, an agreement betting \$1000 on the Harrison presidential race, and a manuscript genealogy of the Archer family by Henry Wilson Archer. A more detailed description of the collection, which is contained in twenty-three boxes, is available in the Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society.

We are deeply indebted to Mrs. Lewis J. Williams for making this gift of her family's papers, and to her daughters, Mrs. J. Woodley Richardson and Mrs. John Zauck, for assisting in the deposition.

# GENEALOGICA MARYLANDIA

## CAPTAIN PHILLIP TAYLOR AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS: A CORRECTION

A. RUSSELL SLAGLE

In the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for the year 1938 there is an interesting article, "Captain Phillip Taylor and Some of His Descendants," by Emerson B. Roberts. This article shows Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip Taylor as marrying on April 1st 1669 Elizabeth Marsh of Severn, a Quakeress, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Marsh.<sup>1</sup> We believe this statement to be incorrect. Apparently a Thomas Taylor, a Quaker, did marry on April 1st 1669 Elizabeth Marsh, a Quakeress, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Marsh; but we purport to show it was not Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip; unless Phillip had two sons named Thomas, which is unlikely. We propose to show that Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip had a wife Frances, was a Protestant, and a Colonel.

We agree with Mr. Roberts where he shows Thomas Taylor to be a son of Phillip Taylor by his second wife Jane (Fenwick?), widow of Thomas Smith, who after the death of Phillip Taylor married as her third husband, William Eltonhead. However, Mr. Roberts apparently did not find the following item in Warrants Lib. 12, fol. 206 from which we quote: "20th March 1669 between Thomas Taylor of Petuxent in the county of Calvert, gent. and Hon. Charles Calvert, esq. Lieut. and Chief Gov. of same province for 30,000 lbs. of tobacco-land lying near mouth of Petuxent River in the province aforesaid commonly called by name of the Mannor of Eltonhead late in the tenure or occupancy of William Eltonhead, gent. deceased; bounded on west with land of Capt. William Hawley and a creek called St. James Creek, on north with Petuxent River and East side with bay of Chesapeake—2,000 acres . . . signed: Thomas Taylor and *Francis* [sic] his wife."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, we see that on 20 March 1669 Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip had a wife, *Frances* and not Elizabeth, as Mr. Roberts concludes. We plan to show later that his wife, Frances, was still living when he made his will October 2, 1696 as Thomas Taylor, gent., of Dorchester County.

By studying the very numerous records of the Maryland Archives, we can easily trace the rise of Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip from Sheriff to Major, to Lieut. Colonel, and finally Colonel.<sup>3</sup> We also agree with Mr. Roberts when he says Thomas Taylor "resided with his widowed mother on his step-father's land, near the mouth of the Petuxent in Calvert Co."<sup>4</sup> However, he owned property in Dorchester County in 1669, for on February 27 of that year he and his wife, *Frances*, sold Taylor's inheritance to Arthur Wright—1200 acres more or less on

<sup>1</sup> Emerson B. Roberts, "Captain Phillip Taylor and Some of his Descendants," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 280-293.

<sup>2</sup> Land Office, Warrants, Lib. 12, fol. 206, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>3</sup> William Hand Browne, et al., ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883- ), II, pp. 193, 513, 514; V, pp. 310, 460.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts, "Captain Phillip Taylor," p. 288.

an island, Slaughter Creek and St. Johns Creek.<sup>5</sup> An interesting deed showing Thomas Taylor's connection with Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore and the Petuxent [sic] River on the Western Shore is the following: "on the back of warrant to Thomas Taylor of Dorchester Co., gent.—for 1500 acres bearing date Aug. 20, 1667 was written (viz.): know all men by these presents that I Thomas Taylor of Petuxent River do assign over unto James Clifton his heirs or assigns all my rights title of this within specified-witness my hand this 12 day of Dec. 1667 signed Thomas Taylowe [sic]."<sup>6</sup>

Colonel Thomas Taylor was one of the most prominent men in southern Maryland at that early date, as, for instance, from the *Maryland Archives* we quote: "a conference held between the right Honorable the Lord Baltimore Proprietor and William Pen Esq. Proprietary of Pennsylvania at the house of Colonel Thomas Tailler on the ridge in Ann Arrundell County Wednesday the 13th of December 1682."<sup>7</sup>

About 1686 this Thomas Taylor, then a Major, moved to Cambridge, Dorchester County: "Maj. Thomas Taylor of Dorchester Co.—April 28, 1686;"<sup>8</sup> and "Major Thomas Taylor, officer in Cambridge, Dorchester Co. Sept. 15, 1686."<sup>9</sup> Also from *Maryland Archives* we quote: "was then taken into consideration the great inconveniency and prejudice caused by the remoteness of living and want of due attendance of Major Thomas Taylor or Deputy Surveyor General att his office whereby the publick business of this Province is much impeded . . . Henery Brent of Calvert Co. put in place of Thomas Taylor—18 May 1687."<sup>10</sup> The "remoteness" was from St. Marys. So now we find Col. Thomas Taylor, often mentioned as "gent," living in Dorchester County.

That Col. Thomas Taylor was a Protestant and a colonel we quote from *Maryland Archives*: "Coll. Thomas Taylor a Protestant commands the horse of Baltimore, Anne Arundel and part of Calvert Co."<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Taylor's wife, Frances, was still living on October 2, 1696, when he made his will: "Thomas Taylor, gent. of Dorchester Co. to his 4 sons John Taylor, Thomas Taylor, Phillip Taylor, and Peter Taylor,—all his property—sons to provide for their father and mother, Thomas and Frances Taylor, their two youngest sisters Frances and Mary, untill married and to their sister Aloysia Taylor 400 acres on Hunting Creek when she shall require it. Wit: Francis Anderton and John Dyer."<sup>12</sup>

Thus, we find that Thomas Taylor, son of Captain Phillip was a different man from the Thomas Taylor who married April 1, 1669 Elizabeth Marsh, a Quakeress of Severn, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Marsh. This latter couple had children: Thomas, James, John, Sarah and Elizabeth;<sup>13</sup> and we see that the descendants of Thomas Taylor with wife Elizabeth Marsh are not descended from Capt. Phillip Taylor.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>5</sup> James A. McAllister, Jr., *Abstracts From the Land Records of Dorchester County, Maryland* (hereinafter called McAllister's Abstracts) Vol. 1, p. 1-1 old 4.

<sup>6</sup> Land Office, Patent Book 12, p. 390.

<sup>7</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, V, p. 382.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, V, p. 460.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, V, p. 503.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, V, p. 542.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, V, pp. 309, 310, 354.

<sup>12</sup> McAllister's *Abstracts* (1961), Vol. 3, pp. 42-45, old 85. 2 October 1696.

<sup>13</sup> Roberts, "Captain Phillip Taylor," p. 293.

<sup>14</sup> Note: An interesting book which shows how close Captain Phillip Taylor and Captain Thomas Smith, the former married the latter's widow, were to William Claiborne is *Virginia Venturer* (1951) by Nathaniel C. Hale.

## NAMES CHANGED IN MARYLAND 1855-1867

A Supplement to *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland by act of the Legislature, 1634-1854*

Mary K. Meyer

The original intent at the time of the publication of the book, *Divorces and Names Changed in Maryland 1634-1854*, was to include only divorces. As the work progressed it became apparent that many females in the process of divorce asked and were granted the privilege of resuming their maiden names. So it seemed expedient to include all changes of names.

By 1854, jurisdiction in divorce cases in the state had been ceded to the Chancellor and county courts as Courts of Equity. At this point the original purpose of the work was accomplished so the work ceased and the book was duly published.

A recent review of the *Laws of Maryland* revealed that an act (311:1868) was passed 30 March 1868, effective immediately, vesting jurisdiction in the matter of changes of name in the Circuit Court of the counties and the City of Baltimore. It provided for a change of name to be granted upon application to the Court, accompanied by a statement of the reason for the request.

It seemed appropriate, therefore, to search out the changes of names by an act of the Legislature from 1855 through 1867 and make them available to researchers. In the following compilation the figures at the beginning of each entry denote first the chapter and second the session of the legislature in which the act was passed. The abbreviation, sp., appearing in parenthesis, following these numbers, indicates a special session of the legislature.

- 275:1867 BAKER, JOHN WESLEY. See John Wesley Pitcock.
- 103:1867 BEACH, FANNY HYDE, name changed to Fanny Tabb Brewer. 15 Mar. 1867
- 275:1860 BEHRENS, MARIA, of Baltimore City, name changed to Henrietta John. 13 Mar. 1865
- 53:1860 BLOWMEROUR, ANNA ELIZABETH, of Washington County, name changed to Anna Elizabeth Durnbaugh. 5 Mar. 1860
- 20:1864 BOSLEY, DANIEL ORRICK, name changed to Daniel Orrick, Jr. 20 Jan. 1860
- BOSLEY, LUCRETIA. See Lucretia Smithson.
- BOWARD, WILLIAM PERRY. See William Perry Brinning.
- 55:1861(sp) BOWIE, ROBERT WILLIAM, infant son of Bettie Bowie, of Charles County, name changed to William Truman Stoddert. 9 Feb. 1864
- 27:1861(sp) BREWER, FANNY TABB. See Fanny Hyde Beach.
- 26:1861(sp) BRINNING, WILLIAM PERRY, of Hagerstown, Washington County, name changed to William Perry Boward. 23 Jan. 1862
- 400:1864 BRITTINGHAM, MAY, of Somerset County, name changed to Mary Sterling. 4 Feb. 1862
- BROOKBANK, WILLIAM COLUMBUS, of Charles County, name changed to William Columbus Jones. 4 Feb. 1862
- BROWN, WILLIAM M. RISTEAU, a native of State of Maryland, name changed to William M. Risteau. 10 Mar. 1864

- 78:1864 BRUNDIGE, JOHN TOY, son of Thomas V. Brundige, of Baltimore City, name changed to John Toy Brundige Worthington. 11 Feb. 1864
- 24:1864 CAHILL, FREDERICK JEROME. See Frederick Jerome Ridgaway.
- 65:1858 CARY, THOMAS HOLLOWAY, of Worcester County, name changed to Thomas Holloway. 9 Feb. 1864
- 22:1858 CLAGETT, SAMUEL ALBERT, of Anne Arundel County, name changed to Albert Clagett. 23 Feb. 1858
- 22:1858 CLARKE, TALBOT, infant son of Mrs. Virginia Clarke by her late husband, George A. Clarke, deceased, formerly of Cumberland County, name changed to his father's name, to wit, George Augustus Clarke. 11 Feb. 1858
- CLEMENTS, EDWARD MARION. See Edward Marion Dent.
- COX, SAMUEL. See Samuel Robertson.
- DANSKIN, WASHINGTON A., JR. See Washington A. D. Ridgway.
- 22:1856 DENT, EDWARD MARION, of Prince George's County, name changed to Edward Marion Clements. 27 Feb. 1856
- 109:1867 DODSON, RICHARD, of Baltimore City, name changed to Richard Stearns Dodson. 7 Mar. 1867
- DURNBAUGH, ANNA ELIZABETH. See Anna Elizabeth Blowmerour.
- DUROCHER, CHARLES LOUIS. See Charles Louis Durocher McLaughlin.
- EDES, BENJAMIN LONG. See Benjamin Edes Long.
- EARHART, WILLIAM HENRY. See William Henry Hutton.
- EATON, FANNIE HONORA. See Mary Hicks.
- FOWK, WILLIAM AUGUSTUS. See Augustus Fowk Robertson.
- 195:1861 FUNK, WILLIAM CLARKE, an orphan minor, of Washington County, name changed to George Smith. 7 Mar. 1862
- 40:1860 GETZENDANNER, OTTA GLENN, infant son of Doctor Joseph T. Getzendanner, of Allegany County, name changed to Oscar Glenn Getzendanner. 12 Jan. 1860
- GOVER, WILLIAM EDWIN PLUMMER. See William Edwin Plummer Ward.
- 160:1866 GREENHAWK, RUFUS HENRY, of Talbot County, name changed to Rufus Henry Lowe. 7 Feb. 1866
- HAMILTON, SAMUEL. See Samuel Hamilton Wright.
- HANSON, JOHN DAVID. See Jacob Morris.
- HENRY, ALBERT. See Albert Williams.
- HENRY, CHARLES EDWARD. See Charles Edward Williams.
- HENRY, JOHN WESLEY. See John Wesley Williams.
- 358:1864 HESSLER, ELIZABETH, of Baltimore City, name changed to Elizabeth Schneider.
- 37:1865 HICKS, MARY, of Caroline County, name changed to Fannie Honora Eaton. 8 Mar. 1865
- HOLLOWAY, THOMAS. See Thomas Holloway Cary.
- 32:1861(sp) HOOFFMAN, FRANCIS, of Woodensburg, Baltimore County, name changed to Francis Hoofman Pelzer. 4 Feb. 1862



- 79:1860 HUTTON, WILLIAM HENRY, of Washington County, name changed to William Henry Earhart. 24 Feb. 1860
- 60:1861(sp) HYDE, SAMUEL EDWIN RIDOUT, of Anne Arundel County, name changed to Samuel Ridout Hyde. 22 Jan. 1862  
JOHN, HENRIETTA. See Maria Behrens.
- 95:1864 JOHNSON, ALFRED, a native of the State of Maryland, and resident therein, name changed to William Fell Johnson. 11 Feb. 1864
- 344:1860 JONES, MARY, of Prince George's County, name changed to Mary Tuck Jones. 8 Mar. 1860  
JONES, WILLIAM COLUMBUS. See William Columbus Brookbank.  
LEVERING, ROBERT. See Robert McEldowney.
- 242:1867 LEWIS, MARY ELIZABETH, of Baltimore City, name changed to Mary Elizabeth Young. 18 Mar. 1867
- 49:1867 LONG, BENJAMIN EDES, of Baltimore, name changed to Benjamin Long Edes. 12 Feb. 1867
- 102:1861(sp) LONG, SYDNEY WILSON, son of Sydney C. and Mary Long, of Somerset County, name changed to Sydney Chaille Long. 24 Feb. 1862  
LOWE, RUFUS HENRY. See Rufus Henry Greenhawk.  
MCCOMAS, DAVID. See David Mertzs.
- 158:1865 McELDOWNEY, ROBERT, of Baltimore City, named changed to Robert Levering. 24 Mar. 1865
- 25:1861(sp) McLAUGHLIN, CHARLES LOUIS DUROCHER, infant son of Dr. David Barnum McLaughlin and Maria Louisa McLaughlin, his wife, name changed to Charles Louis Durocher. 7 Jan. 1862  
MAXFIELD, JOHN W. See John White.
- 276:1864 MERTZ, DAVID, of Baltimore County, name changed to David Henry McComas. 7 Mar. 1864
- 29:1858 MORRIS, JACOB, of Charles County, name changed to John David Hanson. 28 Jan 1858
- 262:1860 NEWMAN, SHALMANEZER, name changed to Sidney Charles Newman. 9 Mar. 1860
- 26:1867 OLDSON, W. H. C., of Queen Anne's County, name changed to Harry Oldson Palmer. 8 Feb. 1867  
ORRICK, DANIEL, JR. See Daniel Orrick Bosley.
- 274:1867 PALMER, DOCTOR ANDREW DUNLAP, of Baltimore City, name changed to Andrew Johnson Palmer. 15 Mar. 1867  
PALMER, HARRY OLDSON. See W. H. C. Oldson.
- 38:1865 PARKER, FANNIE, of Baltimore City, name changed to Fannie Parker Roelky. 8 Mar. 1865  
PELZER, FRANCIS HOOFFMAN. See Francis Hoofman.
- 12:1867 PITCOCK, JOHN WESLEY, of Baltimore City, name changed to John Wesley Baker. 11 Jan. 1867  
POWELL, JOHN S. See John S. Smith.
- 19:1867 PURNELL, ELLENOR KATE, minor daughter of John R. Purnell, of Worcester County, name changed to Emma Catharine Purnell. 17 Jan. 1867
- 42:1856 RIDER, MARY EMELINE, minor daughter of William P. Rider, of

- Somerset County, name changed to Mary Wallace Rider. 27 Feb. 1856
- 188:1856(sp) RIDGAWAY, FREDERICK JEROME, an infant, of Baltimore City, name changed to Frederick Jerome Cahill. 7 Mar. 1862
- 275:1856 RIDGWAY, WASHINGTON A. D., of Baltimore City, name changed to Washington A. Danskin, Jr. 10 Mar. 1856
- RISTEAU, WILLIAM M. See William A. Risteau Brown.
- 291:1864 ROBERTSON, AUGUSTUS FOWK, of Charles County, name changed to William Augustus Fowk. 4 Mar. 1864
- 65:1864 ROBERTSON, SAMUEL, of Charles County, name changed to Samuel Cox. 11 Feb. 1864
- ROELKY, FANNIE PARKER. See Fannie Parker.
- 4:1865 SANDS, CHARLES, of Baltimore City, name changed to Carlos Sales. 27 Jan. 1865
- SALES, CARLOS. See Charles Sands.
- 95:1865 SCHILLING, REVEREND JOHN, of Allegany County, name changed to John Griffith Schilling. 13 Mar. 1865
- 38:1856 SCHLEY, HENRY, of the city of Baltimore, name changed to Benjamin Henry Schley. 27 Feb. 1856
- SCHNEIDER, ELIZABETH. See Elizabeth Hessler.
- 40:1865 SIMMONS, ZACHARIAH ORIGEN, of Frederick County, name changed to John Simmons. 8 Mar. 1865
- SMITH, GEORGE. See William Clarke Funk.
- 13:1856 SMITH, GEORGE, an orphan minor, of Washington County, name changed to William Clarke Funk. 27 Feb. 1856
- 245:1867 SMITH, JOHN S., of Somerset County, son of Rebecca J. Smith, name changed to John S. Powell. 13 Mar. 1867
- 34:1860 SMITHSON, LUCRETIA, of Baltimore County, name changed to Lucretia Bosley. 18 Jan. 1860
- 311:1867 STACK, JOHN FRANCIS, of Caroline County, name changed to John Rumbold Stack. 15 Mar. 1867
- STERLING, MARY. See Mary Brittingham.
- STODDERT, WILLIAM TRUMAN. See Robert William Bowie.
- 7:1864 STOVER, LUTHER WILLIAM, of Carroll County, name changed to Luther William Wiond. 4 Feb. 1864
- 172:1861(sp) WARD, WILLIAM EDWIN PLUMMER, of Anne Arundel County, name changed to William Edwin Plummer Gover. 7 Mar. 1862
- WELSH, ELIZABETH. See Elizabeth Wilson.
- WELSH, MARTHA. See Martha Wilson.
- WELSH, OLIVER JACKSON. See Oliver Jackson Wilson.
- WELSH, PHILEMON HENRY. See Philemon Henry Wilson.
- WELSH, SARAH LOWERY. See Sarah Lowery Wilson.
- 31:1856 WHITE, JOHN, of the City of Baltimore, name changed to John W. Maxfield. 27 Feb. 1856
- 235:1860 WILLIAMS, CHARLES EDWARD, illegitimate child of Isaac Henry and Elizabeth Williams, of Dorchester County, name changed to Charles Edward Henry and he is declared capable of inheriting from his father as if he had been born in lawful wedlock. 9 Mar. 1860

- 235:1860 WILLIAMS, JOHN WESLEY, illegitimate son of Isaach Henry and Elizabeth Williams, of Dorchester County, name changed to John Wesley Henry and he is declared capable of inheriting from his father as if he were born in lawful wedlock. 9 Mar. 1860
- 235:1860 WILLIAMS, WILLIAM ALBERT, illegitimate son of Isaac Henry and Elizabeth Williams, of Dorchester County, name changed to William Albert Henry and he is declared capable of inheriting from his father as if he had been born in lawful wedlock. 9 Mar. 1860
- 217:1856 WILSON, ELIZABETH, of Carroll County, name changed to Elizabeth Welsh. 10 Mar. 1856
- 217:1856 WILSON, MARTHA, of Carroll County, name changed to Martha Welsh. 10 Mar. 1856
- 217:1856 WILSON, OLIVER JACKSON, of Carroll County, name changed to Oliver Jackson Welsh. 10 Mar. 1856
- 217:1856 WILSON, PHILEMON HENRY, of Carroll County, name changed to Philemon Henry Welsh. 10 Mar. 1856
- WIOND, LUTHER WILLIAM. See William Luther Stover.
- WORTHINGTON, JOHN TOY BRUNDIGE. See John Toy Brundige.
- 106:1856 WRIGHT, SAMUEL HAMILTON, of Prince George's County, name changed to Samuel Hamilton. 6 Mar. 1856
- 133:1861(sp) WRIGHT, THOMAS PRATT, son of Joseph and Sarah P. Wright, of Somerset County, name changed to Thomas Hicks Wright. 13 Feb. 1862
- 28:1865 YOUNG, JOHN, of Baltimore City, name changed to John Marshall Young. 8 Feb. 1865
- YOUNG, MARY ELIZABETH. See Mary Elizabeth Lewis.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

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*Lopez of Newport, Colonial American Merchant Prince.* By Stanley F. Chyet. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970. Pp. 246. \$8.95.)

Stanley Chyet has undertaken a study of an eminent Jewish colonial merchant, Aaron Lopez, both as businessman and as human being. It is a careful and well organized work, based largely on Lopez's business records. As far as possible, however, Chyet tries to fill out the religious and social aspects of the merchant's life. In fact, the chief value of the book, in my opinion, lies in this combination of business with Jewish social history.

Born and raised in Portugal, Lopez emigrated to the colonies in 1752 with the aid of his older brother Moses. Arriving in New York he soon settled with his family in Newport, Rhode Island, and started modestly enough in local trade. Again assisted by his brother and some other Jewish merchants in America, he gradually built up an extensive business, emerging as one of the most successful and well-known colonial merchants. It is no surprise, of course, that his empire was based on a great variety of ventures pursued with diligence and some daring. Like most merchants of his day he traded in many different kinds of goods, including molasses, West Indian sugar, spices, food, lumber, tea, silk, indigo, slaves from Guinea, and especially candles and spermaceti. His success with the latter led to the very profitable manufacture of candles and the outfitting of his own whaling expeditions. Shipbuilding, the preparation of food, and the manufacture of clothing rounded out his major activities. Eventually his small local trade grew to embrace the American coastal ports, Great Britain, the Caribbean islands, Canada, Honduras, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Africa. By the early 1770s Lopez had established himself as a very successful man. During the Revolution, however, his empire shrank markedly and the golden age for Rhode Island trade passed as well. With the British invasion of Newport he moved his family and business to Leicester, Massachusetts, and continued business on a much reduced scale. He died by accidental drowning in 1782.

From the point of view of business history the story is familiar enough and has been detailed many times with different individuals. But the focus on Lopez's Jewishness gives a valuable and fresh dimension. Unfortunately, the information here is quite sparse. However, fascinating glimpses, at least, are given of upper class Sephardic life. In Portugal Lopez's family had for generations been forced to be "new Christians," but on emigrating to America they immediately shed their Christian veneer and took up openly the practice of orthodox Judaism. Generous to his numerous relatives and his synagogue, Lopez earned the esteem of a wide circle of contemporaries both in his business and in his personal dealings. He seemed to move easily in both Jewish and Gentile circles, enjoying high rank in each, and he was considered one of the foremost citizens of the colony of Rhode Island.

*New York City*

ELEANOR S. BRUCHEY

*Documentary History of the First Federal Congress of the United States of America, 1789-1791. Vol. I: The Senate Legislative Journal.* Edited by Linda Grant DePauw. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. Pp. xxiv, 708. \$22.50.)

Perhaps the most enduring contribution to the bicentennial of American Independence will be the completion, in this decade, of a half dozen historical projects relating to the nation's founding. Among the more promising is a multi-volume collection of documents bearing on the ratification of the Constitution, a similar effort illustrating the first federal elections, and a major atlas of early America. Another is an eighteen volume *Documentary History of the First Federal Congress*, edited by Linda Grant DePauw and an able staff sponsored by George Washington University and the National Historical Publications Commission.

The publication of the official records of the First Congress is woefully overdue. The *Annals of Congress* have long been recognized as fragmentary and inaccurate; no more so than for the crucial first three sessions (March 1789-March 1791) when Congress adopted the first ten amendments, established the federal judiciary, the executive departments of government, and undertook programs which rescued the new nation from depression and financial chaos. The appearance of Volume I, the *Senate Legislative Journal*, not only inaugurates the project, but introduces the pattern for the first nine volumes which purport to encompass the official papers of the Senate and House—journals, committee records, petitions, messages and reports, resolutions, and miscellaneous material. The second set of nine will consist of unofficial records such as letters, newspaper accounts, transcriptions, and diary entries that cast additional light on congressional proceedings.

If the *Senate Legislative Journal* is an indication of what is to follow, then we are promised a definitive collection of documents superbly edited and presented in all the amplitude that the importance of the subject demands. The basic text for this edition is the official record kept by the first secretary of the Senate, Samuel Otis, legendary for his accuracy and thoroughness. Yet the editors take nothing on trust. They have scrupulously checked four forms of the *Senate Journal*—rough, preliminary, smooth, and printed—and annotated the variations and contradictions including inconsistencies in spelling. Moreover, repositories other than "official files" were searched for concomitant documents such as orally delivered resolutions. Annotation of these and other materials which rest on the margins of official designation makes the record near complete.

Of special value, however, is an elaborate cross-reference system worked out by the editors. Entries in the *Senate Journal* are identified by footnotes and assigned a "journalized date" for reference to later pages (even later volumes) where a particular item of business reappears. Another reference aid supplies numbers to the *Early American Imprint* series for readers who wish to consult the various Charles Evans bibliographies. References of this type which appear in the text are correlated with appendixes, check lists of bills, and (for once) a useable index. A fair measure of how well the system works is found in the speed with which the researcher can trace Senate action on Hamilton's financial reports or follow the progress of complicated bills such as the Judiciary Act. This edition of the *Senate Journal* was prepared with the working historian in mind. Yet he will be limited in what he can do until the publication of the *House Journal*. One hopes that the editors will consider its publication as Volume II instead of at its current slate as Volume VI. The need is obvious as well as immediate.

*Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789–1815.* By Richard Buel, Jr. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972. Pp. xii, 391. \$14.50.)

This book is a sort of sequel to the studies of the ideology of the American Revolution initiated by Bernard Bailyn (who supervised it as a doctoral dissertation) and Gordon Wood. Buel argues that the Jeffersonian Republicans were the intellectual heirs of the Revolution who sought to continue the liberal and democratic trends begun in the contest for independence, while "Federalism was the choice of those who felt insecure as leaders because of changes wrought by the Revolution. . . ." (p. 85) The Federalist elite thus sought security in strong, stable, centralized government, but they were never able to develop the techniques of mass appeal that would enable them to remain in power as a political party. The key difference between Federalists and Republicans was in their perception of the importance of public opinion and the extent to which it could be mobilized in support of government policies. This notion is a useful counterweight to the emphasis among recent scholars on "deference politics" in the eighteenth century, but Buel fails to develop it effectively. Among his problems is the failure to distinguish among ideology, rhetoric, and opinion. The first appears in the subtitle, is defined in the preface, and is thereafter ignored. The latter two are used interchangeably.

His research rests almost exclusively on public records—the debates of Congress, newspaper essays, popular petitions, and the published letters of a few eminent statesmen. The justification is that the contemporary public had access only to published materials and formed its collective "opinion" from them. Perhaps so, but to extract an "ideology" from such materials requires a more sophisticated methodology than a string of carefully selected quotations. For example, in seeking to define Federalist attitudes on foreign policy he uses Hamilton's ideas as a sample. Most historians have pointed out that Hamilton was pro-British in his attitudes because the success of his financial policies required peace and commercial contacts with the former mother country. A more important factor, suggests Buel, was that he desired national unity (a goal that was also at the root of his fiscal system), and he feared a secession of the West unless the United States obtained control of the Mississippi. Against Spain, who controlled the river, Britain was a more reliable ally than France. The sources for this fascinating thesis are Hamilton's conversations with British agent George Beckwith and a memorandum to President Washington in 1790. And this instantly raises some methodological questions. Did Hamilton really believe this? (Ideology) Or was he merely using arguments he wanted others to hear, or which he thought they wanted to hear? (Rhetoric) How many other Federalists shared this concept? (Opinion)

In similar fashion Buel invariably takes the petitions adopted by mass meetings as true samples of public opinion. He ought to read George Mason's bitter complaints about Alexandria merchants who packed grand juries and public meetings with wharf-rats and tavern denizens. Buel talks confidently of an "aroused public" in the wake of the Jay Treaty, but he seems totally unaware that the sets of resolutions adopted by many of the popular meetings in Virginia were actually penned by Madison and circulated by his indefatigable post rider, James Monroe. And the Virginia Federalists, who were not as backward in their efforts to manipulate opinion as Buel supposes, circulated a model petition written by John Marshall.

Buel also takes private correspondence at its face value and occasionally gives private opinions more importance than they deserve. In a further discussion of the interaction between Federalist foreign policy and public opinion, for example, he makes the flat statement that Pinckney's Treaty, by opening the Mississippi, "so appealed to backcountry people that thereafter they supported the administration on the Jay Treaty." (p. 114) His sources are the letters of three Connecticut Federalists, none of whom had ever been west of the Susquehanna.

Fortunately this book can be read on two levels. In broad terms his differentiation between Federalists and Republicans is plausible enough, and his emphasis on the interaction between policy and propaganda offers a new dimension to such familiar stories as Hamilton's reports, the Genêt mission, the Jay Treaty, and the XYZ affair. Thus the reader who is not looking for ideology in American politics and who does not become frustrated by the shortcomings in Buel's method, will find here a well-written, informative account of the politics of the first party system.

*The University of Wisconsin*

NORMAN K. RISJORD

*John Quincy Adams, A Personal History of an Independent Man.* By Marie B. Hecht. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972. Pp. 682. \$14.95.)

Marie Hecht's biography of John Quincy Adams illustrates virtues and flaws common to popular narrative histories. Although weak in analysis and interpretation, this lengthy volume richly details the personal life and character of the nation's sixth President. A heavy reliance on the Adams family papers throughout the text allows colorful treatment of the man's intellect, his close family ties and loyalties, his understanding of political leadership, and the social milieu in which he functioned at home and abroad. These features of the book make it a valuable source both for the specialist and for the general reader alike.

Unfortunately the presentation of this material is obstructed by a tedious organization and by inattention to historical interpretation and analysis. Insights into John Quincy Adams's personal life are awkwardly interjected into a chronological, at times day by day account of Adams's childhood, his experiences as a diplomat, his tenure as Secretary of State, his years as President, and his career in Congress. Although biographies may require such formats, in this case the result is an uncomfortably halting style.

Of greater import is the failure to place John Quincy Adams in historical perspective. Although the narrative carefully traces the remarkable public career of the man, almost wholly neglected are Adams's vision of a national corporate state, his critical role in the shaping of American foreign policy, and the symbolic significance of his rejection by the American people in 1828. Scholarship that might have provided a framework for such analysis is largely ignored.

Despite these shortcomings this popular history has its redeeming qualities. Although it adds nothing new to our understanding of John Quincy Adams's contributions to the development of the American nation, this biography provides an interesting look at a sensitive and complicated man from one of America's unique families.

*Michigan State University*

PETER LEVINE

*Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation.* By Betty Fladeland. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. Pp. 478. \$11.50.)

The thesis of this book, as the preface states, is "that the struggles in Great Britain and the United States against slavery and the slave trade were so closely connected that they deserve to be studied together." While Dumond, Barnes, Klingberg, and more recently Christine Bolt, have touched on this topic, Professor Betty Fladeland of Southern Illinois University has treated it accurately, thoroughly, and well.

First of all, Professor Fladeland believes there was more and earlier agitation against slavery,

and it was both far stronger and more closely allied with British reform, than historians have previously assumed. "The habit of Anglo-American cooperation" was established, she shows, by the generation before the Revolution, and antislavery sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic had its roots in early eighteenth century reform philosophy. The Society of Friends in America, especially, kept close contact with British Quakers through an exchange of publications, correspondence, and travellers. Early American and British reform societies supported each other's efforts in the attack on the slave trade and in pushing colonization projects. During the Revolutionary War years the groups continued to keep in touch, while both felt that the war, at least in part, might be God's judgment on mother country and colonies alike for allowing slavery.

Second, Professor Fladeland also finds the beginnings of political abolitionism to be substantially earlier than usually supposed. The argument over political action versus moral suasion that exploded in the forties had a long history behind it; political activity had always been an important component of both British and American efforts. And, she explains, the "immediatist"/"gradualist" distinction, which created so much difficulty and dissension on the American side, had its origins in earlier British reform thought.

After the beginnings of the active phase of American abolitionism in the thirties, of course, the Americans owed much to their British brethren. The connections established by Theodore Weld and Charles Stuart were of inestimable value, and so were Garrison's, after his visit to England, with a different kind of British abolitionism; it was the visit of George Thompson, one remembers, that set off Garrison's Boston troubles in 1835. When the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833, it used the National Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain as its obvious model, adopting both its organizational pattern and its agency system. Even the phrase "immediate emancipation," in fact, as the author points out, was British in origin, although its meaning was not fully clear to the Americans who adopted it. On the other hand, American propaganda and the publicity given conditions in the American South may have helped Wilberforce win his parliamentary victory in 1833, while travelling American speakers provided substantial support for the British cause.

British cooperation and the British example, the book amply illustrates, were of inestimable value to American abolitionists, who, after all, were a suspect and unpopular minority. If the Americans could point, as they did, to the support of eminently respectable British leaders, they could hardly be accused of being moony-minded fanatics. And if the British could successfully abolish slavery in the West Indies, why could not it be done in the South? The World Convention of 1840, at which Americans played a prominent part, furnished a kind of culmination for their efforts to attain respectability and to attract confidence. As William Ellery Channing said, the antislavery movement formed "a bond of union to good men throughout the world," and put the issue of *American* slavery into world perspective.

Professor Fladeland makes it clear, however, that British and American abolitionism were separate things. Cooperation and mutual respect, yes, but the differences in context in which each operated were distinct. In Britain, abolitionism was never the same emotional issue; after all, there were no large numbers of blacks in Britain to be freed, and the colonists in the West Indies, where there were blacks, had little political power compared to the slaveholders of the South. British reformers were never so deeply involved in political action as Americans, of necessity, were. Nor could the British comprehend the terrible forces unleashed by the controversy over slavery and secession. Nonetheless, it was symbolic that in 1865, when Garrison accompanied Major Anderson to the ceremonies attendant to raising the flag over Sumter that had been lowered in 1861, his English friend George Thompson was with him.



It would seem difficult, after over a hundred books on the abolitionists, to find something new and valuable to contribute, but Professor Fladeland has, and her book is a solid achievement.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

*Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates.* By Edwin W. Beitzell. (Abell, Maryland: E. W. Beitzell, 1971. Pp. x, 217. \$8.00.)

As students of the American Civil War know, the "question" about wartime prisons has resulted in a full-sized bookshelf of literature on the subject. The execution of Henry Wirz, after the war, for alleged crimes in the handling of Federal prisoners at Andersonville, Georgia, has been especially dramatized in recent years with the appearance of McKinley Kantor's *Andersonville* and the play based on Wirz's trial. Confederate defenders have pointed to alleged Federal atrocities at several camps for Confederate prisoners, especially those at Point Lookout, Maryland, but in recent years the Andersonville story has waxed supreme.

The author of *Point Lookout Prison Camp for Confederates* documents a different kind of presentation in the history of the major prisoner concentration in Maryland. Records of the camp, housed in the National Archives, provided the bulk of Mr. Beitzell's sources. The results are revealing; i.e. Point Lookout witnessed more than its share of senseless inhumanity, and, in a sense, these conditions and events transpired within a stone's throw of the Stanton-led War Department offices.

Important dividends are the diaries of two prisoners—one from Virginia and one from North Carolina—who seemingly saw things at the camp in the same way. Also included are forty-five water color sketches of camp life made by John T. Omenhausser, a prisoner there in 1864–65. The author, too, has compiled a corrected list of prisoners who died at Point Lookout, numbering several thousand.

Beitzell's study leads him to conclude that Federal authorities could have prevented many of the deaths at Point Lookout: "Much of this failure to supply the necessities for life stems from the vindictive policy of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, of an 'eye for an eye,' without a regard for the inability of the South to supply the needs of their Federal prisoners." (p. 176)

The author is the Editor of the *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, the monthly magazine of the St. Mary's County Historical Society. Such devotees of local history are making unique contributions everywhere. Mr. Beitzell's work is no exception. It is, indeed, a labor of love.

Stephen F. Austin State University

JAMES L. NICHOLS

*The Gray And The Black: The Confederate Debate On Emancipation.* By Robert F. Durden. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. x, 305. \$10.95.)

In the final two years of the Civil War the Confederacy's grave and mounting manpower problems compelled its leaders to wrestle with an agonizing social and psychological problem—whether or not to arm the slaves. The institution of slavery to white Southerners was more than a labor device; it was a means of social control, the best way to manage a black

population which they held was not capable of assuming the responsibilities of freedom. This philosophy was reaffirmed by Alexander Stephens, vice-president of the Confederacy, in a widely quoted speech delivered on the eve of the war. The cornerstone of the new government, said Stephens, rested upon the great truth that the black man was inferior and hence ordained for slavery.

The desperate realities of a continuing war forced the white South to re-examine its traditional views on arming the slaves, and this momentous debate within the Confederacy is the theme of Professor Durden's volume. And, as he points out, the use of slave soldiers inescapably implied their emancipation, a step thus further weakening the traditional Southern mores. Permitting the various debating parties to speak for themselves, Durden skillfully sets the stage, providing an introductory and interpretive commentary for each of the participants. The latter include a rich cross section of Southern opinion, among them government officials, newspaper editors, high churchmen, and army officials. Durden is short on expressions of opinion from poor whites and from blacks, slave or free, doubtless because these groups were not construed as opinion-makers.

Revealing an extensive grasp of Confederate source materials, Durden traces the progress of sentiment to arm the slaves, beginning with the widespread grumblings following the military setbacks in the summer of 1863. The Confederate Congress responded in February 1864 with an act authorizing the army to impress free blacks and slaves for noncombatant military service. A month earlier General Patrick R. Cleburne had proposed to arm and free the slaves. But the Congress was not prepared for this bitter medicine until a year later when the highly revered Robert E. Lee recommended it. By the time the measure was passed, however, the Confederacy had already lost the war, another dread realization that Southerners had been loath to face.

If the debates over slave soldiers and their emancipation tell us much about the mind of the South in mid-nineteenth century America, they also reveal insights that are as cogent now as they were then. Writing in November 1864, for example, the senior Robert Barnwell Rhett, in criticizing a proposal made by President Jefferson Davis, points out that "few of us, I fear, realized the difficulty of maintaining a free Government in War. All free Governments have been destroyed by the Executive absorbing the other departments of Government."

Durden shares with us some insights of his own, and his conclusions are sagacious, with one exception perhaps. He holds that the debates over arming the slave reveal "that there was yet a reservoir of good will between the Confederacy." He supports this statement with scant evidence from white quarters and none at all from black.

*Morgan State College*

BENJAMIN QUARLES

*American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science.* By William G. Rothstein. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. Pp. xv, 362. \$15.00.)

Traditionally the writing of the history of medicine has been divided between those who dealt with the subject in a technical and biographical manner and those who emphasized its social foundations. Each approach, of course, proved inadequate by itself, since the history of medicine cannot be fully understood or appreciated without a grasp of both its technical basis and the environment in which it developed.

When I first encountered William G. Rothstein's attempt to integrate the historical sociology

of medicine with a description of its therapeutic practices, I looked forward to reading it with high expectations. Indeed, Rothstein's conception of the subject promised much, since his study purportedly embodied an interdisciplinary approach (to use a term that is currently noted for its magical qualities, if not its actual achievements).

Essentially, Rothstein has attempted to explore the growth of the medical profession in the nineteenth century, including professional organizations, medical schools, and the numerous sects (Thomsonianism, homeopathy, eclectic medicine) that arose to challenge the heroic therapeutics employed by the majority of regular physicians. The splits between orthodoxy and sectarianism, Rothstein argues, were not resolved until the rise of a truly scientific medicine in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which ended for the most part medical sectarianism as well as the spirit of commercialism that had dominated medical schools for many decades.

Despite its promise, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century* is a disappointing book. Its thesis is familiar; its mode of analysis is conventional; its sources are known to all good scholars; and its conclusions are largely a summary of what is already known. Considering that the book is written by a trained sociologist, it is somewhat surprising to see medicine treated in a partial social vacuum, for there is little or no effort to relate the rise of the medical profession to changes within the social structure of nineteenth-century American society or to employ a comparative framework. Instead we are presented with a restatement of the theory of historical progress: i.e., the rise of "scientific" medicine ending once and for all the proliferation of sectarianism and quackery. Missing are sophisticated analyses of concepts of health and disease, the influence of European medicine, the rise of public health—all of which played a significant role in shaping the evolution of nineteenth-century American medicine.

Moreover, the book is partly disjointed, especially the opening chapter which attempts to familiarize the reader with the plan of analysis. The real achievement of this chapter, however, is to confirm the belief that sociologists ought to be required to take a course dealing with instruction in basic English; this chapter employs terminology that can at best be described as silly. There are some twenty-five pages of definitions presented in a manner that assumes complete ignorance or illiteracy on the part of the reader. Even worse, this chapter has virtually nothing to do with the remainder of the book. Most readers, therefore, would profit if they completely ignored the opening section of this work.

This is not to imply that Rothstein's book is void of any redeeming qualities. His analysis of sectarianism, while not novel, does have significant insights; his research (at least in terms of printed sources) is fairly thorough, if unimaginative. But if this book represents the thrust of historical sociology (and I do not believe that it does), then historians had better maintain their separate identity and continue their traditional plodding work, which has provided—despite its defects—far more knowledge and insights into the historical evolution of American society.

Rutgers University

GERALD N. GROB

*People of Paradox. An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization.* By Michael Kammen. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972. Pp. xvii, 316. \$8.95.)

Reinhold Niebuhr once said that the logic of American history is not *either/or* but *both/and*. Students of American culture have long been concerned with the perplexities of

righteousness and materialism, nature and civilization, legality and violence, with Tocqueville's discovery of the hidden nexus between individualism and conformity, Van Wyck Brooks's riddle of "high ideals and catchpenny realities," the Henry Jamesian theme of ambivalence toward Europe, Henry Adams's virgin and dynamo, the pathetic dualisms of our Jay Gatsby's, and so on. Michael Kammen has written a book about this characteristically "contrapuntal" style of the Americans. It is a hackneyed subject, and the book occasionally totters on the brink of the bottomless pit of "national character" clichés. Yet it escapes this fate because Kammen checks his talent for ubiquitous philosophical punditry, which is considerable, and in the heart of the book, once again becoming the superb historian that he is, endeavors to explain the origins and dynamics of the "syncretistic" American character in the shaping experience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not everyone will agree with Kammen's analysis, but *People of Paradox* succeeds in its heuristic mission of suggesting new ways of looking at the origins of American civilization.

Kammen begins by differentiating his view of the colonial experience from Daniel Boorstin's. While Boorstin is presented as "virulently" hostile to any suggestion of European survivals in the genesis of American civilization, Kammen argues that these survivals were, in fact, a primary source of paradox; and instead of "seamlessness," the civilization was characterized by radical division. This is not a question of conflict versus consensus but of the presence of both in the same people and, more importantly, of their attempt to reconcile these contradictory impulses in the emerging institutions. Part of the difficulty arose from the absence of legitimacy in America, which, in turn, reflected the breakdown of legitimacy, of traditional allegiance, and of normative values in seventeenth-century England. The quest for legitimacy would be resolved politically by the American Revolution: legitimacy flowed from the bottom up—from the sovereign people—rather than from the top down. However, the resolution was never complete anywhere. Ambiguity and insecurity persisted because of the "unstable pluralism" of American society and culture. This pluralism, with its dynamics of freedom, diversity, and change, thwarted any firm structuring of legitimacy. It was "the matrix of paradox." Kammen goes on to examine the phenomenon of "biformity," which is vaguely defined as the paradoxical coupling of opposites, in the rising civilization. Out of the unresolved tensions of colonial life came such biformities as "pragmatic idealism," "conservative liberalism," "orderly violence," "moderate rebellion," "illicit legality," "companionate misanthropy," "civil religion," and so on. Most of these paradoxes endured with momentous consequences and new ones blossomed as the contrapuntal civilization progressed. In the final chapter Kammen sweeps through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader takes leave of him breathlessly pondering the paradoxical revelations of Robert Frost, Henri Bendel, and Johnny Cash.

The book is a *tour de force*. It is also bewildering, exasperating, and, in the end, tiresome. The game is to find *paradox*. In the process Kammen dumps into this category dissimilar or opposite things that might better be termed (and sometimes are termed) anomalies, antinomies, dualisms, contradictions, inconsistencies, tensions, polarities, dilemmas, ambivalences, ambiguities, incongruities, asymmetries, and, of course, biformities. Surely not every dualism or contradiction can be dignified as a paradox. Surely such a standard polarity as that of liberty and authority is not a paradox unless men see it as one. Surely there is no need to view such paired political concepts as nationalism and federalism or majority rule and minority rights through the bifocal lenses of paradox. The perception of paradox, like irony, can be exceedingly illuminating, as it often is in this book, but the perception is blurred by indiscriminate overkill. The trivia of New England "codfish aristocracy" and Quaker "ostentatious austerity" should not be weighed in the same scale or embraced in the same

discourse with the great paradoxes of American civilization. Kammen recognizes that some of the tensions he describes, on the order of Emerson's "society and solitude," are simply part of the human condition, yet he cannot refrain from Americanizing them. As his paradoxes are of different orders of value, so are they of fundamentally different natures. For example, the paradox of "poverty amidst abundance" is a social reality and should be treated as such, while the paradox of the Americans' simultaneous hunger for "prosperity" and "virtue" is a psychological reality calling for another kind of analysis. These distinctions are not well kept in *People of Paradox*.

Of course, the Americans have no monopoly on paradox, but they have been the quintessentially paradoxical nation, in Kammen's view, and on balance he thinks the results have been good. Most of the biformities have been functional or creative. He is sanguine for the future. "I have to believe that America historically has achieved the ultimate stability of an arch . . . : those very forces which are logically calculated to drag stones to the ground actually provide props of support—derived from a principle in which thrust and counter-thrust become means of counterpoise." This positive assessment—alas, very Boorstinian—may be warranted. Yet it is a narrow line that separates paradox from quick-change artistry and Orwellian "doublethink," and one wonders if the boasted American genius for compromise, for splitting every issue, and skirting every contradiction will prove as serviceable in the future as it has in the past.

University of Virginia

MERRILL D. PETERSON

## BOOK NOTES

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After years of study and writing, Cotton Mather completed his longest medical manuscript in 1724. Despite the fact that he had already published hundreds of books and had many articles accepted in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, his great compendium of medical lore, theory, and practice was never printed. Parts of it were first published a century and a half later, but not until 1972 was it finally published in its entirety: *The Angel of Bethesda by Cotton Mather*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Gordon W. Jones, M. D., F. A. C. S. (Barre, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972. Pp. xl, 384. \$25.00.) The result of Dr. Jones's editorial labors is a real contribution to our knowledge of Puritan medicine and science. Mather has long been recognized as a greater scholar and scientist than theologian, and the range of his interests continues to astound the modern reader. His manuscript "Angel of Bethesda" was the first systematic compilation of medical knowledge prepared in the American colonies. As Dr. Jones points out in a helpful introduction, American medicine, like that in England, was an intriguing amalgam of observation, wisdom, religion, superstition, insight, and quackery. Consequently Mather's work contains the bizarre along with the latest in medical discoveries. He was one of the first to postulate an "animalacular theory" of epidemics, foreshadowing modern germ theory. In the face of medical and religious opposition Mather advocated the newly discovered practice of inoculation to prevent smallpox. It is his remarkable ability to combine such advances with the woefully backward theories generally accepted that makes *The Angel of Bethesda* fascinating reading for the historian of medicine, Puritanism, or indeed the casual reader. Mather's colorful style vividly conveys the strange world of eighteenth century medicine that seems so totally alien to our own understanding of disease and treatment.

*The Journals of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist*. Edited by Andrew Oliver. (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Essex Institute, 1972. Pp. xxxvi, 1083. \$30.00.) This is the first publication of the Program for Loyalist Studies and Publications which "seeks to locate, gather, and make available, in microfilm and letterpress, documents that place in perspective those Americans who, at the time of the Revolution, remained loyal to the Crown." This is not a good beginning. Although Curwen, a Salem businessman and merchant, comments on a wide range of social and political events in 1775-1785, the years of his residence in England, great portions of the *Journals* are mundane descriptions of weather and polite society. Curwen's *Journals* should have been better edited, reduced to a more inexpensive single volume or, perhaps, a microfilm edition. Only a good index makes this publication usable. [Richard J. Cox]

*The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: Politics and Culture in the Seventies*. By Michael Novak. (New York: Macmillan Paperbacks, 1973. Pp. xxxv, 376. \$1.95.) This reprint of the 1971 hardback, with a new preface, reflects the popular interest in ethnicity. American politicians and commentators have previously discovered blacks, youths, and more recently, women. It is Novak's central thesis that the 1970s will be the "decade of the ethnics." His well-written study is a celebration of ethnic differences in contemporary America, chiding WASPs for their assumption that there is only one really American lifestyle. Novak expectedly tends

to romanticize his subjects, but the readers of this *Magazine* will find his comments helpful in trying to comprehend a vital cultural and political movement of today. Novak includes a spirited profile of Spiro T. Anagnostopoulos, Maryland's most famous household word.

*An Album of American Battle Art 1755-1918.* By Donald H. Mugridge and Helen F. Conover. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972. Pp. xx, 319. \$19.50.) The original edition of this republication was published by the U. S. Government Printing Office in 1947 to accompany an exhibition of prints held at the Library of Congress from July 4 to November 1, 1944. The exhibition covered the periods of all of the major wars from the French and Indian War to World War I and was presented as a graphic record of these important events. There are 150 plates, reproduced in halftone, of engravings, etchings, lithographs, drawings, and photographs. They lack some of the tonal gradations evident in the photographic process used in the reproductions in the original edition. Accompanying each plate is an interesting and diverting account of the event portrayed and a biographical sketch of the artist. [Lois B. McCauley]

*The Sharples. Their Portraits of George Washington and His Contemporaries.* By Katharine McCook Knox. (New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., Da Capo Press, Inc., 1972. Pp. xvi, 133. \$17.50.) This is an unabridged republication of the first edition published in 1930 of a definitive study of the lives and works of James Sharples, his wife Ellen, and their children. It is well illustrated with halftone reproductions of their oil paintings, pastels, pencil drawings, and needlework. A note by the new publisher states that during the forty years since the first edition was published, additional timely information has been found including newly located portraits, ownership changes, and new knowledge on the Sharples family. This updated information is available in the files of the Frick Art Reference Library, 10 East 71st Street, New York, N. Y. [Lois B. McCauley]

*The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon.* With an introduction by A. Hughlett Mason. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1969. Pp. xii, 231. \$5.00.) For over eighty years until the completion of the Mason-Dixon line in 1767, relations between Maryland and Pennsylvania were strained because of the boundary dispute. This volume is the first publication of the daily journal of the two surveyors. Dr. Mason, with the perspective of a civil engineer, has some interesting observations concerning the technical aspects of the survey. However, an otherwise fine historical sketch of the controversy is marred because of some minor inaccuracies. [Richard J. Cox]

*Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.* By Clayton Torrence. (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, reissued 1973. Pp. xvi, 583. \$15.00.) has been in such demand that it has again been reprinted. Originally written in 1935, it has remained the classic work for the area and it was first reprinted in 1966. Torrence confined his study to the subject of the foundation and founders of Somerset and intended it as an introduction to further studies, but such was his scholarship that no other work has been attempted. Though written almost forty years ago, there is little new to be recorded and few corrections needed, so the reprint did not contain any alterations. The study is based upon local and other archives, and with its seventy pages of footnotes with supporting evidence it ranks as one of the outstanding books on Maryland history.

There is also much of interest for genealogists—marriages, settlers, founders, Quaker and other families. [P. W. Filby]

*Jews in the South.* Edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Dale Palsson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. Pp. viii, 392. \$12.50.) As the editors note, little has been written about southern Jews, who have never made up more than one percent of the population of the South. Nevertheless their presence there is an interesting part of both Jewish and southern history. The editors have provided a twenty page introduction placing the twenty-two different articles in a wider perspective. The long continuing agrarian nature of the South, the predominance of fundamentalist Protestantism, and the persistence of racism from slavery through segregation, have all had their effect on southern Jews, and the result is a Jewry different from that of the North. The articles, by almost a score of authors, discuss many diverse aspects of southern Jewish life from antebellum times to modern problems. The articles are divided into five sections, each of which has a brief introduction, and the volume concludes with the notes on the contributors and a brief bibliographical essay. Although the articles have previously appeared elsewhere, there is a distinct advantage to having them combined so conveniently. The result is an excellent and provocative introduction to a subject that deserves much additional study.

*John Brown.* Edited by Richard Warch and Jonathan F. Fanton. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973. Pp. viii, 184. \$6.95.) There has been a recent revival of interest in John Brown, spearheaded by Stephen B. Oates's marvelous book, *To Purge This Land With Blood* (1970). This brief edited volume in the Great Lives Observed series is a minor but useful contribution. The authors have provided a sixteen page introduction that summarizes Brown's life, a group of contemporary letters, documents, and testimonial statements on Brown and the Harper's Ferry raid, a selection of responses to the raid, and they conclude with excerpts from other scholars who have attempted to assess Brown's role in history. Notable among these are selections by Allan Nevins, C. Vann Woodward, Benjamin Quarles, and Stephen B. Oates.

The Bicentennial of the American Revolution is nearing, and publishing lists indicate that fact as accurately as the calendar. The avalanche of works—scholarly, filiopietistic, ephemeral, pictorial, even outrageous—has already begun. *The Pictorial History of the American Revolution.* By Rupert Furneaux. (Chicago: J. G. Ferguson Publishing Company, distributed to the book trade by Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1973. Pp. 400. \$19.95.) is an early entry. The author has constructed a broadly narrative history of the Revolution, told primarily through ample quotations of contemporaries to the events. This gives the text a lively, you-were-there kind of immediacy. The narrative is enhanced by over 250 illustrations, fifty-one maps, and fifty-six water colors done especially for the book by Kay Smith. The result is an attractive, popular survey of the Revolution that offers neither new interpretations, subtle insights, nor sweeping generalizations, and does not pretend to. It is written for the average reader, who should find it most enjoyable.

Ours is developing into an age of nostalgia, with books recalling a long ago era when things were simpler and life supposedly more filled with meaning and happiness. Two recent books, illustrated with woodcuts and sketches, portray going to school almost two centuries ago: *The*



*Little Red Schoolhouse: A Sketchbook of Early American Education.* By Eric Sloane. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972. Pp. [40]. \$4.95.) and *Going to School in 1776.* By John J. Loeper. (New York: Atheneum, 1973. Pp. [x], 79, [v]. \$4.95.) Sloane rhapsodizes over the buildings, furnishings, and everyday life at the one room schools. Loeper has constructed vignettes of school life at various locales, told through the words of fictionalized children. Adults will probably enjoy Sloane's volume more, while Loeper's is more ideally planned for children. Both are light and amusing reading.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### MARTIN FAMILY—CIVIL WAR PERIOD—BALTIMORE

Researcher needs to contact descendants of Patrick Charles Martin and his wife, Mary Ann. Martin was a respected Baltimore liquor importer at the start of the Civil War. In 1862 he got into difficulties with Federal authorities and fled with his family to Montreal. In Montreal he engaged in minor espionage activities and acted as a purchasing agent for the Confederacy. Frequently he ran the blockade out of Halifax. In October 1864 John Wilkes Booth visited with the Martins in Montreal. Martin agreed to ship Booth's wardrobe through the blockade. Also he furnished Booth with a letter of introduction to the Confederate underground apparatus in Charles County, Maryland. Booth met Dr. Richard Mudd as a result of Martin's letter.

About the end of 1864, Patrick Charles Martin sailed from Halifax with a cargo destined for the Confederacy. The vessel was never heard of again. George Alfred Townsend (GATH), a famous Civil War reporter, claimed in 1876 that Martin had been murdered for gain by a Halifax business partner, Alexander Keith, Jr. This by placing a time bomb aboard the vessel.

Mrs. Martin remained in Montreal for several years. But in 1876 Baltimore Mayor George P. Kane, in an interview with George Alfred Townsend, indicated that he had been in touch with the family—apparently not too long before. So it could be that members of the family had drifted back to the Baltimore area. The Martin children were: Mary Ann, born about 1839; Margaret A., born about 1845; Patrick H., born about 1848; Ellen R., born about 1850; and Frances D., born about 1856.

If you have any information, no matter how remote, write to James O. Hall, 1044 Douglass Drive, McLean, Virginia 22101.

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